THE PROFESSIONAL MIDDLE CLASS AND THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF PROGRESSIVISM: A CASE STUDY OF THE NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP, 1920-1950

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ABSTRACT

There is little published research on the New Education Fellowship and its social origins. A preliminary reading of the Fellowship's journal convinced the researcher of the importance of this organisation and that it warranted a fuller investigation. Moreover, existing accounts of the NEF fail to recognize its educational and social significance.

The thesis is divided into three parts. Part I examines the origins of the New Education movement together with an institutional analysis of the New Education Fellowship in the period 1920-1950. Part II focuses more specifically on the intellectual field of New Education and presents an analysis of the Fellowship's journal, The New Era. Part III considers the role of The New Era as a crucial disseminator of the discourse of New Education in the context of the social origins of progressivism with special reference to its social class base.

Part I consists of two chapters. The first is a review of the secondary literature on the New Education movement. In the chapter, Foucault's archaeological method is used as a template to organise the literature review. The second chapter examines the aims, administration and policy of the NEF, its international structure and its local organisation in the English section. Thus, Part I establishes the context for the analysis of the intellectual field of New Education which follows in Part II.

The chapters in Part II contain an empirical study of The New Era which includes an analysis of its organisation, editorial policy, themes and features. This study permits a detailed specification of the continuities and changes in authors, perspectives and applications of New Education discourse. Part II concludes with a chapter which foregrounds the emancipatory interests of New Education at the different levels of the child, family and nation.

Part III is essentially concerned to examine the social class base of New Education in the context of progressivism. As an initial step, Chapter 8 contrasts The New Era with two contemporaneous journals, one educational and one psychological, to test the hypothesis that The New Era was unique as the pedagogic relay of New Education discourse. Chapter 9 examines the social class identity of the New Education movement and tests the hypothesis that its social origins can be located in a fraction of the new middle class namely, the caring professions and their academic supports.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

> "The NEF is a great reservoir of force. .... which can be drawn upon by individual members. In moments of loneliness and discouragement a member can feel that the strength of the whole Fellowship is with him. The power which flows from union will enter into him and a new vitality infuse itself into all his works." (OT 1925 Apr:98)

The New Education Fellowship created a community which afforded its members both intellectual stimulation and moral support. On a different scale the people I wish to acknowledge have supported me in writing this thesis. I was lucky to have Professor Bernstein as my supervisor and have enjoyed the experience of working with him. I also wish to thank Lynne Ashley, Lemah Bonnick, Mary Hickman and Jan Holland for discussing the thesis with me. My family and friends have been supportive throughout the research. I especially wish to thank my parents, John and Catherine Jenkins, for everything. I would like to thank Bernadette Cifuentes for typing the thesis. I am grateful to the World Education Fellowship for permission to consult the archives and to the Institute of Education Library for their helpful and friendly service.

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PROLEGOMENON

The New Education Fellowship

> "The NEF is the most highly vitalised body which exists for the recording of experience gained in all lands in the urgently needed task of adapting education to new social ideals." (Sir Michael Sadler, Diary of NEF 1920-50, WEF Archives I 25)

This organization was launched at an International Conference in Calais in 1921, where more than 100 people from 14 nations met at the invitation of the English journal The New Era. It created an international movement bringing together individual pioneers to promote New Education. The aim was to promote Educational Reconstruction with a vision of a better way of education for children.

The Fellowship gathered momentum, gaining support in many countries. The three main journals and the bi-annual conferences represented the principal channels of communication with the membership. They were The New Era edited by Mrs Beatrice Ensor, Pour L'Ere Nouvelle edited by Dr Adolphe Ferriers and Das Werdende Zeitatter edited by Dr Elizabeth Rotten. The editors were also the founder members of the NEF and played a central role in its development. The conferences proved popular and attracted increasing numbers over the years. Many famous speakers attended from the field of education, philosophy and psychoanalysis. All these factors helped to establish the NEF's reputation.

Conference attendance figures gave a measure of the rapid expansion of the Fellowship. From 100 participants at Calais in 1921, numbers rose to almost 2,000 at Elsinore in 1929. By the mid-Thirties, the NEF confidently boasted that it was "the one existing permanent educational organisation of world-wide scope" (Report 1934-36 WEF Archives I 25). The organisation embraced 51 national sections and 23 affiliated magazines.

The national sections developed their own programmes of activites, journals and conferences. Many were drawn into government policy discussions (Stewart 1968:223). In addition, there were national and international commissions established in the inter-war period, on such major issues as examinations, curriculum reform and international understanding. Many of the findings were published. The NEF forged alliances with, and gained members among, a range of education institutions and organizations such as government education departments, education bureaux and academic institutions.

A wide membership was encouraged, drawn from all those committed to the improvement of education. One of the earliest members described the Fellowship as having "a basic faith underlying the diversity and giving inspiration to the separate endeavours" (Boyd 1957:193). The membership included teachers, academic experts, government officials, administrators, psychologists, psychoanalysts and parents who were committed to the welfare of children and united in a common vision. Laurin Zilliacus, a Finnish headmaster, was the first chairman of the NEF. He described the Fellowship's perspective as:

> "Seeing education as a whole is a definite part of the NEF outlook and our organization has played an important role in throwing bridges from one part of the educational field to another" (Zilliacus 1953 Renewal in Education, WEF Archives I 25).

Thus the membership was representative of the full educational spectrum, connecting highly specialised professionals and agencies of the state, working in different institutional settings - the school, local authority, teacher-training department and the clinic. They occupied central strategic positions for the transmission of New Education's pedagogic messages. In the absence of a highly developed state educational apparatus, it is conceivable that the NEF represented the only hegemony in the field of education in the inter-war period.

Today, the Fellowship continues to play a part in educational innovation under the title of the World Education Fellowship (to which it changed in 1965 to reflect its primary internationalist ethos). Wyatt Rawson, a Joint Director of the NEF in the 1930's, proclaimed the organization to be still an active international centre in the mid-sixties (Rawson 1965 Preface VIII). Stewart summarizes the influence of the Fellowship as follows:

> "The NEF ... has been active and resilient for nearly fifty years and remains committed to freer ways than yet exist at any rate in England's schools ... its vitality and importance to the history of educational innovation in England and in the world cannot be doubted ... in 1967 it continues to seek to initiate research" (Stewart 1968:260).

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

This thesis is an analysis of a voluntary but influential organisation called the New Education Fellowship (NEF). It was launched in 1921, in the aftermath of World War I, to promote international, democratic reconstruction through education. The Fellowship's ambition was to create and disseminate a new pedagogics of education which could provide the foundation for future world unity and democracy. One of the main aims of this research is to examine the role of this organisation in promoting progressivism within education. The NEF provided an important field of intellectual activity and practice. As such it was the foundation for the assimilation of the progressive pedagogies of New Education into the English education system.

The introduction is divided into three main sections. The first explains the choice of this relatively under-researched organisation. The second section outlines the substantive issues that shaped the approach taken in this thesis and states the main hypotheses. The final section outlines the development of the thesis.

2. Background to the Research

2.1 Parent Organisations

The research started with an examination of the relationship between parents and schools. The initial aim was to discover why parents occupy such a prominent place in contemporary education policy and to identify the perspectives of the parents' organisations. Initially, the project was inspired by the policy analysis of Miriam David (1980). She examined the state mediation and regulation of the relationship between parents and schools. Her approach was a welcome departure from the traditional literature on Home-School relations which mostly ignores the role of the state (see, for example, the review of this literature by Sharrock (1970)).

One of the main areas of the original research programme was the interaction between the three main parent organisations and political parties. The campaigns of the parent organisations to achieve recognition as the fourth partner in the educational policy-making process were to be compared with government policy initiatives, since the early 1970's, to encourage parental involvement. The research was still at an exploratory stage, when it seemed important to investigate the historical background to the parent organisations. In the process of tracing the emergence of the modern parent movement, the researcher discovered the New Education Fellowship.

2.2 The New Education Fellowship

The New Education Fellowship was first encountered in an attempt to explore the history of relations between parents and schools. The organisation incorporated parents into its project because it recognised the importance of early socialisation for the child's subsequent development. The NEF journal reflected this interest in its title The New Era in Home and School. The journal, first published in 1920, promoted a progressive, child-centred pedagogy both at home and in the school. It represented probably the earliest educational journal to address the home-school relationship. A preliminary reading of the journal raised a number of issues which warranted a fuller investigation of both the organisation and its journal.

The NEF developed an education by and for the caring professions and their academic supports in opposition to the traditional public schools and their social supports. New Education developed what is to be called an "emancipatory pedagogy" based originally on principles of freedom, self-development and love. It will be argued that this form of progressivism was set against the more hierarchical teacher/subject centred, explicitly assessed forms of traditional practice. The conflict was essentially between those in the emergent caring professions and their academic

supports and those in industry and the older professions of law, medicine and the church. New Education, it will be argued, was a realisation of an ideological conflict between different fractions of the middle class. This formulation determined both the importance of the NEF in the development of progressivism and the raison d'etre of this analysis.

Thus the decision that the NEF should constitute the main subject of the thesis was taken for two reasons. Firstly, as the archival research progressed, the importance of this organisation became increasingly evident. There was a growing awareness of the scope and influence of the NEF. It had an its international network which included experts in the educational field and made important contributions to educational theory, policy and practice.

Secondly, the existing accounts of the Fellowship in the literature failed to recognise what seemed to the researcher to be its major significance. The Fellowship created a hegemony in the field of education, it was unique insofar as it had a specialised class base, crossed both institutional and national boundaries, linked voluntary and state agencies, gained the support of teachers in the private and state sectors and at times, influenced, directly or indirectly, state education policy.

3. Substantive Issues and Hypotheses

3.1 The Fellowship

The primary concern of the research is to construct a detailed record of the NEF which will provide an adequate testimony to its pioneering work in the field of education during the period 1920-1950. This decision was taken on the grounds that the Fellowship has been under-researched and that the existing literature does not recognise sufficiently, its importance.

Only one major history exists to date. It is by Boyd and Rawson, (1965) The Story of the New Education.

Boyd and Rawson's history was based on their belief in New Education. Its dual aim was to learn the lessons of the NEF and to demonstrate the continued relevance of its educational vision. This account is essentially a narrative. It traces the emergence of the Fellowship without yielding an understanding of the social base or context of the movement. This research aims to supply a description of the social class location of the NEF and to formulate a theoretical explanation of the social basis of New Education.

3.2. New Education

The NEF coined the term 'New Education' as a critique of the prevailing educational system epitomised by the public schools. In contrast, New Education created a positive philosophy of a child-centred pedagogy predicated upon the needs of the child. New Education was informed by a variety of additional perspectives such as New Psychology, psychoanalysis, philosophy and religion. It emphasised the affective qualities of education for personal development rather than the transmission of cognitive skills.

The analysis of the discourse of New Education is based upon an evaluation of the NEF journal, The New Era in Part II. The main concern here is firstly, to identify the authors of the discourse, responsible for the construction of the intellectual field of New Education and secondly, its constituents. The findings of the author analysis in chapter 5 and the content analysis in chapter 6 reveal the structure of the intellectual field and discourse of New Education. The analysis of the journal provides a detailed empirical specification of the discourse of New Education and the shifts that occurred over the thirty year period of this study.

3.3. New Education and the Social Class Origins of Progressivism

The investigation of the NEF and its discourse of New Education also serves as a case study of the social origins of progressivism. A source of dissatisfaction with the existing literature on New Education arises out of its failure to recognise the importance of the social basis of the movement. This absence in the literature is particularly striking as most historians of education demonstrate a close correspondence between social class and the different forms of educational provision available in the period of this study, 1920-1950 (eg. Simon 1987, Lewis and Maude, 1950).

At a time when educational provision had an unambiguous relationship to social class, it is a matter of interest that the social origins of progressive education were not an issue. In part the explanation of this absence must be that the NEF was defined as a marginal, voluntary organisation and that New Education was essentially practised in a small number of private schools.

3.4. The Hypotheses Informing the Research

The main hypothesis that supplies the overarching rationale for this study is the following:

H.1 The social origins of the New Education Fellowship can be located in a section of the professional middle class. New Education was created by and for this fraction of the middle class. It is therefore possible to identify the social class origins of progressivism in the caring professions and their academic supports.

This hypothesis will be tested against empirical evidence of the social basis of the NEF and its discourse. An indication of social class identity can be gained from the analysis of the members and authors of the intellectual field

of New Education. There are implicit class assumptions underpining NEF discourse which will be drawn out to test the hypothesis. Empirical evidence will be used to substantiate the related theoretical claim that New Education, as an 'invisible pedagogy', was institutionalised by and for the new middle class (Bernstein 1977:124). Chapter 9 juxtaposes the adequacy of this theoretical explanation of New Education with an opposing explanation offered by Musgrove (1979).

A number of additional hypotheses have been formulated:

H2 That the NEF created a new intellectual field in education which brought together a range of related professions: practising teachers, academics, administrators, psychologists and psychiatrists. Thus, the NEF served as a conduit that united diverse experts from different fields of practice and study. Further, the intellectual field which it developed, served to amplify its message and to ensure its implementation across a wide variety of practices. This hypothesis will be tested in chapter 5 which investigates authors and the intellectual field of The New Era.

H3 That the NEF created an international intellectual field that operated to bring together scholars and practitioners from different nations. The NEF created an international movement, transcending national interests to foster world unity and democracy. Whereas the English section had developed connections with government officials and made submissions to official reports, in other countries, the links between the NEF and the state education system were stronger, for example, France. At an international level, the NEF unofficially represented the educational wing of the League of Nations and was actively involved in the creation of UNESCO. The implications of the NEF's internationalist ethos will be examined in a number of chapters concerned with the international structure and committees (Chapter 2), the representation of international perspectives in the journal (Chapter 4) and the expression of transnational objectives (Chapter 6 and 7).

H4 That the development and changes in New Education discourse can be inferred from a close analysis of The New Era. The journal will be considered as the pedagogic relay of New Education. In order to test the specificity of The New Era, as a unique relay, analyses are made of two contemporaneous journals to discover the extent that they were also relays for New Education (Chapter 8).

In the process of carrying out the research, two further hypotheses emerged:

H5 That the anti-authoritarian and anti-industrial stance of New Education determined its institutional location initially in the private sector. It made progress in the public sector in the child guidance networks, nursery schools and in post-war primary education. Thus its institutionalisation depended upon the relative autonomy of education from the economy.

H6 That New Education constituted an emancipatory discourse transforming the concept of the child, family and nation as the precondition for a new Internationalism. This hypothesis concerning the emancipatory interests of New Education will be examined in chapter 7.

4. Organisation of the Thesis

The next nine chapters are divided into three parts. Part I reviews both the origins of the New Education movement and the institutional structure of the New Education Fellowship. Part II focusses exclusively upon the Fellowship's journal, The New Era and its intellectual field, Part III examines the specificity of the journal as pedagogic relay of New Education discourse and the social class origins and implications of progressivism.

4.1 Part I: Origins of the New Education Movement

Chapter 1 reviews the background movements and various influences that led to the formation of the New Education

Fellowship. Foucault's 'archaeological method' serves as a template to organise the secondary literature so that it describes the 'conditions of emergence' of New Education as histories. Chapter 2 consists of a detailed analysis of the NEF using mainly primary sources. It provides an institutional framework as the context for the creation and dissemination of New Education discourse.

4.2 Part II: The New Era and its Intellectual Field, 1920-1950

Chapter 3 is an examination of the NEF journal, The New Era, its mission, administration and policy. Chapter 4 investigates its themes and features. Chapter 5 identifies the authors of articles that appear in the journal in terms of their occupational function and gender distribution. This analysis provides important information about those involved in the creation of the intellectual field of New Education.

New Education discourse is discussed in chapters 6 and 7. The content analysis of all the articles gives a detailed description of the development of the discourse, its theoretical perspectives and practical applications. Chapter 7 offers more selective insights into the content of New Education discourse and its emancipatory interests in the child, family and nation.

The analysis of the NEF and the examination of The New Era covers the period 1920-1950. It begins with the publication of the journal in 1920. The analysis ends at 1950 because subsequently, the organization and its function changed. In the 1950's, the NEF was no longer at the forefront of educational innovation and did not attract the same range of professional interest nor the celebrities of the earlier period. The New Era continued to publish new ideas in education but was no longer their main forum. The orientation of the NEF changed after 1950 to concentrate upon the promotion of international education. This was reflected in the change

of title to World Education Fellowship in 1966.

4.3 Part III: Origins of Progressivism

The specificity of The New Era as pedagogic relay of New Education discourse is tested in chapter 8 through an examination of two contemporaneous journals. Chapter 9 assesses the social basis of the New Education Fellowship and its linkage with the new middle class. The theoretical claim that New Education is an 'invisible pedagogy' (Bernstein, 1977) is considered, and its adequacy tested against the empirical evidence of this thesis and against a specific critique of invisible pedagogy by Musgrove (1979).

P A R T I

ORIGINS OF THE NEW EDUCATION MOVEMENT

Introduction to Part I

Part I establishes the context for the analysis of the New Education Fellowship and its discourse of New Education in this thesis. Part I comprises two chapters. The first is set in the broader context of the origins of the New Education movement. The second is more specific in its analysis of the NEF. This organisation emerged out of the New Education movement and represents the primary agency responsible for the construction, expression and dissemination of New Education Discourse.

Chapter 1 is exclusively concerned with the secondary literature on the New Education movement and as such constitutes a literature review. The chapter applies Foucault's archaeological method to the analysis of the secondary literature. Chapter 2 consists of a full institutional analysis of the New Education Fellowship from its inception in 1921 to 1950. The chapter traces the formative influence of the Theosophical Society upon the Fellowship, its aims and principles, administration and membership as well as its international structure and local organisation in the English section. Part I provides the background necessary for the analysis of New Education discourse which follows in Part II.

CHAPTER 1

CONDITIONS OF EMERGENCE OF NEW EDUCATION: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE LITERATURE

1. Introduction

This chapter serves a dual purpose. The aim is firstly to review the existing literature on the New Education Fellowship and, secondly, to establish the background to the New Education movement. The chapter begins with a bibliographic search to discover what has been written about the organisation. The next Section shows why a Foucauldian method is proposed as a theoretical framework for the systematic study of the literature on New Education. Foucault's archaeological method is employed to investigate the rules of formation of New Education as a special historical and educational discourse. This examination is based upon the information supplied in the histories of New Education.

As is evident, this chapter is not a literature review in the traditional sense although it is concerned with the literature on New Education. Foucault's archaeological approach is used as a template to organise the literature review. This represents a new application of his method.

2. The Bibliographic Search

2.1 Texts on New Education

Given the impressive stance and scope of the NEF, as summarised in the prolegomenon, one would expect it to feature prominently in the histories of 20th century progressive education. Accordingly this line of enquiry was pursued in the literature review.

Initially, the sample concentrated on histories or more general/sociological analyses of progressive education which had relevance to the period of this study, 1920-1950. There were less than 20 books in this section, mostly historical.

The biographies of authors, school chronicles or theoretical texts which were written by progressive educators were not included in this section. For the purposes of this analysis, the historical texts are sub-divided into Specialised and General narratives. The former concentrate specifically on progressive education and the latter provide invaluable overviews of the development of the modern education system.

2.1.1 Specialised Histories

Among the 20 texts the 3 principal works on the NEF are

1. Boyd, W and Rawson, W (1965)
   The Story of New Education
2. Stewart, W A C (1968)
   The Educational Innovators Vol 2 Progressive Schools 1881-1967
3. Selleck, R J W (1972)
   English Primary Education and the Progressives 1914-1939

In addition, a further 6 books make some reference to, or assessment of the Fellowship. Among these texts, the first 2 are sociological:

4. Ash, M (1969)
   Who Are The Progressives Now?
5. Jones, K (1983)
   Beyond Progressive Education
6. Connell, W F (1980)
   A History of Education in the Twentieth Century World
7. Lawson, M and Petersen, R (1972)
   Progressive Education: An Introduction
8. Skidelsky, R (1969)
   English Progressive Schools
9. Pekin, L B (1934)
   Progressive Schools

These Specialised Histories consider various aspects of progressive education. For example, Stewart (1965), in his analysis of "unorthodoxy in education" examines "the

practical working out of unorthodox educational ideas in schools which declared their interest and showed their hand" (Stewart 1968:xvi). His description of schools is linked to the international movement in progressive education and also to social and economic themes. Another study of progressive schools by Skidelsky (1969), examines the growth of the New School movement and acknowledges the role of the NEF within it.

Selleck (1972) takes a broader perspective than schools. He traces the origins of New Education in order to chart its influence upon subsequent primary school practice. Whereas Selleck encompasses the whole New Education movement, Boyd and Rawson focus more specifically on the history of the NEF. They demonstrate its role in educational reform with the objective "to make education personal and creative" (Boyd and Rawson 1965, Preface:ix). Both texts indicate the sedimentation of contemporary educational ideas and practices in New Education. Both argue the significance of New Education and the Fellowship. This is in contrast to the majority of historian's narratives which tend to marginalise both New Education and the Fellowship. The reasons for such marginalisation will be considered at the end of this section.

2.1.2 General Histories of Education

Those texts relevant to the period were examined to see if they considered progressive education and/or the Fellowship. This literature was mostly characterised by an absence of reference to the NEF. Among the 25 histories, 13 paid no attention to progressivism and were more concerned with the development and vicissitudes of state education. Even Simon (1974) who provides the most detailed study of the period from a Marxist perspective, focuses exclusively on education policy and party political orientations. While some of the more general historical accounts refer to pioneers or movements in education eg Wardle (1976) and Judges (1952),

there is no overlap with New Education.

A sub-set of 8 books devote a section or chapter(s) to progressive education. They refer to New Education or New Educators who are also members of the Fellowship, but make no explicit reference to the organisation. For example Ward (1931), Mack (1941) and Barnard (1968) mention Montessori, Isaacs, Dewey, A.S. Neill, Nunn, Clarke and Tawney amongst others. Alternatively some sources describe New Education schools such as Abbotsholme, Bedales, Frensham Heights and Summerhill. Others examine New Education methods such as the Dalton Plan, project method, individual timetabling and self-government.

However, 4 books did testify to the work of the NEF and complete the list:

10. Curtis, S J and Boultwood, M (1953)
    A Short-History of Educational Ideas
11. Armytage, W H (1970)
    400 Years of English Education
12. Dent, H C (1970)
    1870-1970 Century of Growth in English Education

Dent was a member of the English section of the Fellowship but did not exercise his knowledge of the organisation beyond a passing reference in this, or any of his other books.

13. Lawson, J and Silver, H (1973)
    A Social History of Education in England

The fact that the number of books that reference New Education or the NEF can be so easily listed suggests that New Education and the Fellowship have been marginalised in the history of 20th century education.

2.2 Further Sources

A computer search and a manual search of the British Education Index provided a further indication of the lack of

research on the NEF. The computer search traced only 3 articles. Two of those were about progressive education but only briefly mentioned the Fellowship (Stewart (1979) and Darling (1981)). The third article was written by M D Lawson (1981) specifically about the organisation - "The New Education Fellowship. The Formative Years". This article traced its Theosophical origins and influence.

The British Education Index revealed 2 articles in the Year Book of Education. One was written by Dr. William Boyd (1957) "The Basic Faith of the New Education Fellowship" and, the other by Wyatt Rawson (1964) "Internationalism and the New Education Fellowship". Both authors were prominent members of the organisation and jointly edited the principal book on the Fellowship cited earlier.

The bibliographic search continued. The British Education Theses Index 1950-1982/3 produced only 3 potentially useful dissertations. The first was an MA thesis by Hazel Johnson (1971) The New Education: Influences and Trends in English Elementary Schools 1918-1933. Although the period partly coincides with this research, she traces the trends and influences back to late 19th century antecedents of New Education rather than forward to the contemporaneous influence of the Fellowship. There is a fleeting acknowledgement of its existence.

An interesting PhD by T D Vaughan (1978) closely examines The New Era and the role of the NEF in formulating early guidelines for modern counselling. In spite of Vaughan's specific reference to the counselling movement, he nevertheless offers some insightful reflections and information about the NEF through his development of this theme.

A further valuable resource is the MA thesis of R N Sinha (1971). He was able to interview Mrs. Ensor, the founder member, before she died. The transcript is included

in an appendix to his dissertation. Sinha provides a comprehensive description of the Fellowship with reference to its organisation, relationship with educational pioneers, curriculum innovation and international influence. He explores the changing ideologies of the Fellowship and its dialogue with Theosophy, the German Youth Movement, France, Denmark, America, South Africa, India, England, the League of Nations and UNESCO. Some of his insights will be utilised and developed in later chapters. The scope of both Vaughan and Sinha's studies extend beyond 1950 where this research ends. However, both authors indicate changes post-1950, which offer further confirmation of the time scale of this project.

The search for additional source material continued with a spate of letter-writing. The secretary of the World Education Fellowship kindly granted permission to consult the Archives. These are housed at the University of London Institute of Education Library. Unfortunately, the London headquarters of the NEF were bombed in 1940, destroying valuable archival information. The records for the period of this study, 1920-1950 are therefore regrettably patchy. The archivist for the Institute of Education, Dr Kathleen Barker, could find no additional material on the NEF in the Institute's own archives in spite of the close interconnection between the Institute and the NEF.(1) The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts regretted that they knew of no additional sources for WEF records.

A letter was sent to all U.K. Universities and Colleges of Education which explained the nature of the research, and the lack of archival information. It also requested details of any research, past and present that was relevant. Some respondents kindly listed the 3 theses in the British Education Theses Index, otherwise no other research was reported. However, three of the respondents mentioned that they were former members of the NEF and expressed an interest in the research. Their replies were encouraging. Dr. Grodinger wrote that:

"As a former member of the New Education Fellowship and

> subscriber to The New Era, I am interested that serious attention is being given to these. In the period you are concerned with, they were a seminal and wholly beneficial influence." (Grodinger, R J Personal Correspondence 14.3.86)

Dr. Lester Smith replied on behalf of the University of London Goldsmiths' College. He had co-edited The New Era from 1976-1984, whilst serving as a member of the World Guiding Committee of the WEF. He was rather sceptical about the extent of its influence because he believed that it did not enjoy vast support. However, he agreed that the organisation always had considerable potential:

> "I am sure that you are right in pointing to its important source role. Many great thinkers have contributed to the pages of The New Era since 1920 and ... I find that "new" ideas encountered in 1985/86 are often little more than updates of those expressed eloquently years ago in journals like The New Era.
> (Smith, L A Personal Correspondence 13.03.86)

2.3 Conclusion

It is important to be aware of the context in which New Education and the Fellowship enter the historical accounts of this period. Their presence or absence in the literature has already been noted and the information can be summarised diagrammatically:

ABSENCE	General Histories	State-provided education eg Graves (1962) Lester Smith (1958) popular education eg Wardle (1976) pioneers/ideas eg Judges (1952) Birchenough (1916)
PRESENCE		Progressive forms (General histories that refer to New Education) eg Barnard (1968) Armytage (1970)
	Specialised Histories	Progressive Education eg Connell (1980) Lawson and Peterson (1972) New Education eg Boyd and Rawson (1965) Selleck (1972) Schools eg Stewart (1968) Skidelsky (1969) Pekin (1936)

The next stage is to explore the literature more fully to see if there are principles of inclusion of New Education and the Fellowship in the historians' narratives. These are not strongly represented in the General Histories where they are included in only one sub-set of this category but they are a more integral part of the specialised Histories. However, a striking feature of the diagram is the date of publication of the texts. Where New Education is absent, the histories tend to have been published in the 1940's and fifties eg Graves (1942), Judges (1952) and Lester Smith (1958). Those that refer to New Education have been published much later in the 1960's and early 1970's eg Boyd and Rawson (1965); Barnard (1968), Stewart (1968) and Selleck (1972).

In this latter period, progressive education represented an important site of pedagogic practice and theoretical interest. It is likely that the historical tracing of its origins was inspired by the prominence of progressivism as a practice. In other words, these specialised histories were written by individuals with vested interests in progressive education, sponsoring and legitimating the movement. Therefore, one of the principles governing the inclusion of the NEF in histories of education appears to be their date of publication. If the histories were written in the 1960's or 1970's, they were more likely to enshrine the ideology of progressivism.

3. Methodological Approaches to the Literature Review

Thus far, the literature review has been structured around the presence or absence of reference to New Education and the Fellowship. In this section, explanations of the origins and development of New Education will be reviewed. It was evident that two approaches were taken by the histories of New Education. Either they adopted a general theory of education or a Marxist interpretation. The general historical analyses tend to be specific, detailed analyses

of the development of education, whereas, Marxist historical analysis located education in a general theory of the development of capitalism and the regulation of class conflict. Each of these approaches will be considered in turn.

3.1 Historical Analysis

Within this broad category, general histories of education are distinguished from the specialised histories of progressivism. The General Histories review the progression and expansion of state provided education eg Armytage (1970) 400 Years of English Education or Lowndes (1937) The Silent Social Revolution. Some of the texts concentrate on individual pioneers such as Curtis and Boultwood (1953) A Short History of Educational Ideas. Others focus on state policy including Dent (1970) 1870-1970 Century of Growth in English Education or Graves, J (1942) Policy and Progress in Secondary Education 1902-1942.

A typical example of this genre is Lester Smith (1958) Education in great Britain. He describes educational aims and principles, relating the development of education to its social context. The text follows a logic of progression that is essentially chronological in its pursuit of such themes as ideas, aims and principles, religion, curriculum, the state and community.

Similarly, the specialised Histories of progressive education follow this pattern. The description validates the text. For example, Selleck (1968) in his first book The New Education. The English Background, 1870-1924 charts different movements, from the practical to the scientific educationalists, who contributed to changing educational perspectives. Lawson and Petersen (1972) document changes at various levels such as ideas, school practice, the curriculum and the social context.

Boyd and Rawson (1965) provide the most pertinent examples of a specialised description. The Story of the New Education is based on a manuscript by Dr William Boyd, intended as a companion volume to his epic History of Western Education. Whereas Boyd was anxious that the book would represent a testimony to the NEF, Rawson, who completed the manuscript, extended the brief to include the wider New Education movement. The story offers the most detailed published record of the NEF. It begins with the background of pioneer schools, methods and movements that pre-existed the NEF. The five central chapters document the development and work of the Fellowship and the final chapters trace its influence and contemporary relevance.

The belief in New Education appears to be the informing perspective of The Story. The justification of the description rests upon the identification of the Fellowship as part of a wider humanist philosophical movement in the 20th century. In its endeavour to remodel education, the NEF represented the forerunner or a "New Era" which was to be based on world unity (Boyd and Rawson 1965:194). In the preface, Rawson claims that the book is:

> "more of a history of the New Education than of the New Education Fellowship ... It is in fact from the standpoint of the information and experience provided by the Fellowship that this history is written."
> (Rawson 1965:Preface viii)

The purpose of that history is twofold, to learn the lessons of the NEF and to demonstrate the continued relevance of its educational vision.

The Specialised and General Histories are predominantly written as a narrative. They are concerned essentially with discussing the origins, purposes and vicissitudes of the NEF. These histories (and it is not their problem) do not yield an understanding of the Fellowship. As a consequence they do not develop concepts which could provide an explanatory framework of the emergence of the Fellowship. In order to discover more about the social base of the movement a marxist

framework was next considered.

3.2 Marxist Historical Analyses

Marxist historical analyses were carefully considered. Without wishing to imply that class provides a total explanatory framework, it is nevertheless important to establish the NEF in its class context. The literature on the relationship between social class and progressive education for the period was, however, surprisingly sparse. As with the General Histories, there was greater interest in policy issues of inequality and access, for example Tawney (1922). Empirical studies of the relations between social class and education can be found in Barker (1972); Banks (1955) and Glass (1959) but these authors focus more on the working class. Few texts examined the relationship between the middle class and education. In the course of reviewing more than a dozen books and articles that were relevant to the period and which addressed middle-class education, there were no references to progressive schools.

It seems that in the period under study (1920-1950), middle-class parents relied heavily on private education, but "of a grammar school variety" as a guarantee of achieving desirable occupational outcomes (Lewis and Maude (1950); Glass (1959). At a time when educational provision had an unambiguous relationship with social class it is significant that the origins of progressive education were not similarly correlated.

Marxist historians of the period showed little interest in progressive education. Brian Simon, one of the few historians interested in this period, has written a 3 volume study which spans from 1870-1940. This documents the integral relationship between educational policies, process and social class, focusing especially upon the relationship between state-provided education and the working class. The third volume, The Politics of Educational Reform 1920-1940 is

closely concerned with the policy and administrative processes of the inter-war years. It records a period of economic retrenchment and broken policy promises regarding the expansion of state education. There is no mention of the progressive education movement.

British Marxist historians have shown little interest in the relationship between education and the middle class. One reason for this is proposed by Karabel and Halsey (1977). They suggest that Marxists have focused more upon conflict over the structure of the educational system rather than the forms of cultural transmission. Karabel and Halsey contrast the macro-sociological approach of Marxists to the work of Bernstein on class and pedagogies, which emphasises struggles within the middle class. The Marxists are concerned with inter-class conflict whereas Bernstein analyses intra-class conflict. Karabel and Halsey comment that:

> "At stake in this conflict however is not the system of class relations itself, but the form of its reproduction." (Karabel and Halsey 1977:69)

It seems that British Marxist Historians have ignored New Education for two reasons. Firstly, it was marginal in terms of the population it encompassed. Secondly, the significance of the class connections between New Education and the middle class was not their concern. Unlike "popular" education which was promoted by and for the working class and contained revolutionary potential, "progressive" education was the prerogative of the new middle class concerned with new forms of cultural transmission. The Marxist historical analyses therefore tend to focus upon questions of access, opportunities and constraints rather than upon the content of education and the forms of its transmission. Such analyses are not concerned with pedagogic paradigms, whereas, the NEF created a new pedagogic paradigm. Thus Marxist histories tend to operate at the macro-level, which emphasises structure and inter-class conflict over process, intra-class struggles and forms of cultural reproduction.

One of the aims of this research however, will be to demonstrate the class basis of New Education and its emergence, as an embryonic force at the same time as that fraction of the middle class, the new middle class was in the process of expansion. This research develops an understanding of New Education as an educational ideology of an emergent fraction of the new middle class. This relationship will be discussed further in chapter 9.

3.3 Foucauldian Analysis

So far, the discussion of the literature has shown that very little attention has been paid to the origins and development of New Education in the general context of the literature on progressivism. This section will concentrate upon the construction of New Education in the histories which do refer to the discourse. It would be possible simply to review this literature showing how authors agreed or disagreed over facts, interpretations and assumptions. However, it seemed that it might be profitable to apply a different approach to this literature.

There have been a number of studies of educational and psychological discourses using a Foucauldian approach for example, Jones and Williamson (1979), Walkerdine (1984) and Rose (1985). In these cases, Foucauldian analysis was used to construct a particular discourse. Walkerdine (1984) identifies the historical conditions of emergence of what she describes as the couplet "developmental psychology/child-centred pedagogy" and the insertion of Piaget into early education. She charts the effectivity of Piaget's work and how it is implicated in more contemporary forms of child-centred pedagogic practice.(2) Rose (1985) is concerned with the conditions of emergence of the psychology of individual differences as a science.(3)

Both Walkerdine and Rose identify the historical conditions of emergence of their discourses in order to write

the history of their present practices and to identify the sedimentation of the past within them. Both authors analyse shifts in the modalities of control and their implications for the effectivity of power relations. They draw their conclusions from a wealth of primary and secondary sources. However, they do not use Foucault's method to construct a discourse about a discourse. Here, the archaeological method will be used as a template to organise the various contents of the literature on the origins and development of New Education.

Foucault formulated his archaeological method in opposition to both General and Marxist histories. Foucault (1972) opposes what he describes as 'traditional' history because it emphasizes themes of "continuity, causality and teleology". Further, 'traditional history' depends on notions of the constitutive subject (Sarup 1983:89). Foucault also questions the explanatory power of historical materialism for a twentieth-century analysis of social, economic and political forms (Sheridan 1980:114).

Foucault formulated the archaeological method for the study of discourses, to find out how they are constituted and the specific conditions and ways in which forms of knowledge emerge. Foucault is concerned with "how discourses are produced and how they produce normalised individuals" (Sarup 1983:98). Foucault studied marginal institutions as part of a wider project to trace the emergence of what he called a "disciplinary society". He argues that disciplinary techniques have been transposed from marginal institutions to play a crucial role in new strategies of power relations in contemporary institutions. His analysis of the microphysics of power demonstrates how disciplinary techniques operate in different institutions as a means of exercising power over individuals.

The New Education Fellowship represented a marginal educational organisation that promoted the child-centred

pedagogy of New Education and offered a cosmology of individual and social change. New Education was concerned with the individual child. In Foucauldian terms, it is possible to understand how the child is constructed by specialised discourses without losing sight of wider power relations. New Education constructed an emancipatory pedagogy that freed the child from the external authoritarian constraints of traditional education. Thus, a Foucauldian analysis should demonstrate the shift in the modality of control constituted by New Education. More importantly, it should show how its pedagogic practices have been transformed from a marginal institution to provide a crucial underpinning of post-war primary school practice.

A Foucauldian analysis appears to have the potential for illuminating the literature on the New Education Fellowship. The ambition is to apply the archaeological method to the literature review. The intention is to treat this literature as itself problematic and to ask certain questions about how it came into existence, the constraints upon the discourse which emerged and its selective distinguishing features. It is hoped that such an analysis should explain the relative lack of interest in the NEF as a site for historical texts and the subsequent marginalization of the texts which emerged from this site.

3.3.1 The Archaeological Method

The meaning of an archaeological analysis is summarised by Sheridan (1980). Firstly, it involves an assessment of the three rules of formation of a discourse. These comprise "the surfaces of emergence, or social and cultural areas in which a particular discursive formation makes its appearance." Secondly, "the authorities of delimitation", by which is meant "an institutional body possessed of a certain knowledge and authority recognised by public opinion, law and government." The third and final rule of formation is the "grids of specification."

Foucault provides as an example of the rules of formation, the concept of madness. He suggests that these rules provide "the systems according to which different kinds of madness could be specified and related to one another in psychiatric discourse." The rules of formation are all integrally linked and emerge with the discourse itself (Sheridan 1980:97/8).

Foucault identifies four methodological principles central to an archaeological analysis:

> "They concern the attribution of innovation, the analysis of contradictions, comparative descriptions and the mapping of transformations." (ibid:1104)

In an attempt to clarify the difference in method when using an archaeological approach as opposed to the traditional history of ideas or a Marxist orientation, Foucault uses the example of clinical medicine:

> "If archaeology brings medical discourse close to a number of practices, it is in order to discover far less immediate relations than expression, but far more direct relations than those of a causality communicated through the consciousness of the speaking subject. It wishes to show not how political practice has determined the meaning and form of medical discourse, but how and in what form it takes part in its conditions of emergence, insertion and functioning." (Foucault 1972:163)

It is proposed to apply Foucault's concept of "conditions of emergence" i.e. the rules of formation of a discourse, to the literature on New Education and to the political, economic and social processes in which New Education was embedded. The archaeological method should provide an organisational framework to produce a clearer idea of how the secondary literature constructed its discourse.

4.The Rules of Formation of the Discourses on New Education

This section applies Foucault's archaeological method to the Specialised and General Histories to establish the

issues of definition of the concept of New Education and of the periodicity of its discourse. The three principal "conditions of emergence" of the discourse of New Education will be identified. These are its "surfaces of emergence", "authorities of delimitation" and "grid of specification". Finally, this discourse will be set in the context of a comparative analysis.

4.1.1 The Definition of New Education in the Literature

Foucault criticises history because it starts with a definition of the discourse and then proceeds to describe it. However, none of the Histories offer an operational definition of the concept of New Education, so this situation does not apply to the literature of New Education. Therefore, the histories of New Education do not conflict with the principles of a Foucauldian analysis and are appropriate for its method of historical analysis.

As can be seen, Armytage (1970) is a typical example of a General History that offers no definition. Instead he lists pioneers, theories, experimental schools and methods. He also includes a range of texts, organisations and disciplines. Armytage provides a summary description without divulging the principles of inclusion. In his wide survey of New Education, Selleck (1972) tentatively offers a definition of "the confusing mixture of theories and beliefs and practices which was the New Education" (Selleck 1972:25).

The principal histories confirm the impression that New Education is defined in terms of its constituents. Even Boyd and Rawson (1965) who provide the most detailed documentation of New Education offer no definition. Apparently Boyd had originally intended to write an introductory chapter explaining New Education. This was never written. In the Preface, Rawson attempts a definition in which he establishes its difference from traditional education:

> "Education is dependent upon the spontaneous development of the child's creative powers and instincts, which can

> only be aroused through activity and experience, not through books and the reproduction of the thoughts and ideas of others." (Rawson 1965 Preface:ix)

From the above quotation, it appears that New Education can be described in its negative capacity as oppositional to the "old" education. This aspect interests Stewart (1968) in his analysis of unorthodoxy in education. He claimed that by definition innovating schools were in protest against existing forms of education. They asserted their differences backed up by philosophies and practices (Stewart 1968:3).

4.1.2 Conclusion

New Education is a discourse without definition, it is the outcome of "bricolage". The concept of bricolage is used by Atkinson (1985) to describe "the cobbling together of whatever bits and pieces are to hand" (Atkinson 1985:159). It is a process whereby "elements are decontextualised from their original location and then recontextualised into a new assemblage" (ibid:171). Thus New Education represents a new assemblage in which different historians describe various attributes such as schools methods and societies. The concept of New Education incorporates its negative capacity as oppositional to traditional education and as an interrupter of previous educational discourses.

4.2.1 The Attribution of Innovation: Issues of Periodicity Within the Literature on New Education

Foucault criticises the history of ideas for its preoccupation with issues of "genesis, continuity and totalization" (Foucault 1972:138). He argues that traditional histories search for the moment of birth of the discourse and identifies points of correspondence and continuity with previous ideas. Historical analysis attempts to bring coherence to a new body of ideas so that they coalesce into a new discourse. An archaeology looks at discourses rather than ideas, is concerned with their specificity rather than

continuities and expresses their diversity rather than their unity. The Histories move from the non-discursive i.e. the wider socio-economic and political processes and the institutional conditions that supply the context for the emergences of the new discourse to the content of the discourse. Conversely, an archaeological analysis starts from within the discourse. This precludes a single point of origin because discourses constitute a collection. It is only after the rules of formation of a discourse have been established that the archaeological method can proceed to a comparative analysis.

The attribution of innovation is one of the first principles of an archaeological method to describe the conditions which will facilitate the emergence of a discourse. It is necessary to establish the periodisation of the discourse without seeking a fixed point of origin. In fact, the histories reviewed here do not agree upon a single point of origin for New Education. Instead a variety of starting points are offered, dependent upon which aspects the authors wish to emphasise. Again, these histories are exempted from Foucault's critique of history.

It is the philosophical background to New Education that Selleck (1968) uses to establish a preliminary periodisation of New Education. In this volume, he charts the English background from 1870-1914 and outlines six different philosophies that contributed to New Education. They were all opposed to traditional education (Selleck 1968:337). The transformation of New Education philosophies into a range of educational initiatives, beliefs and practices forms the subject of Selleck's second book. English Primary Education and the Progressives is more relevant for the present study as it spans the period 1914-1939.

From a different philosophical perspective, Gordon and White (1979), in their exposition of idealist philosophers as educational reformers, take almost the same period as

Selleck. They attach significance to the post-1870's and continue up to the 1920's. The authors claim that the idealists "played an indispensable part in laying the foundations of our present system." (Gordon and White 1979, Preface:ix). However, among their list of educational reformers in Part 2, only three had any known connection with the NEF. They were Sadler, Tawney and Clarke.

There appears to be reasonable agreement that the late 19th and early 20th centuries gave a rich pre-history to New Education. Boyd and Rawson identify 2 phases, starting with Rousseau and Pestalozzi (Boyd and Rawson 1965:1). Lawson and Petersen (1972) concur with this first phase. They identify the origins of the naturalist tendency in Rousseau, Froebel and the kindergarten movement (Lawson and Petersen 1972:25). The second phase, the "New Education of our own time" is dated from 1900-1925 by Boyd and Rawson. This periodisation is roughly shared by Connell (1980) who proposes 1900-1916 as the starting point. Selleck offers the later date of 1914-1925.

Some authors propose a more precise point of origin relating to an individual school or event. Selleck (1972) chose May 1911 as the date of origin of English progressivism. It was significant because it was the date of publication of Edmond Holmes book What is and What Might Be. The book which criticised existing educational provision and advocated a different approach made a considerable impact. Holmes as an ex-inspector was conversant with the education system and his attack upon it could not be ignored. According to Selleck, Holmes had been identified by Michael Sadler in 1916 as "the Rousseau before the Revolution" (Selleck 1972:25).

The versions of progressive education which concentrate upon its origins in pioneer schools generally fix the date upon the founding of Abbotsholme in 1889. Stewart (1968) comments that its first headmaster, Cecil Reddie, "was the

first of the educational radicals of the new wave in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries" (Stewart 1968:8). Similarly, Armytage (1970) agrees that the New School movement began with Reddie (Armytage 1970:199). He identifies Abbotsholme and, more especially its offshoot, Bedales (founded in 1893 by J M Bradley, a former teacher of Abbotsholme) as "bearing the progressive label with distinction" (ibid:230). Mack (1941) however, does not mention Abbotsholme at all. Instead he identifies Bedales as "the parent of the progressive school movement in England" (Mack 1941:255).

4.2.2 Conclusion

The above periodisation of the construction of New Education in the literature elucidates the first principle of an archaeological analysis, the attribution of innovation. It established the period from 1870-1925 as significant for the formation of the discourse. The archaeological method has identified philosophies, schools and methods but not as fixed points of origin from which New Education has developed. Rather, these philosophies, schools and methods constitute what Foucault describes as the "tree of derivation of a discourse" (Foucault 1972:147).

4.3.1 The "Surfaces of Emergence" of New Education

The surfaces of emergence supply the first rule of formation of a discourse. Foucault defines "surfaces of emergence" as the social and cultural context in which the discourse first appears. At these "surfaces of emergence", the discourse begins to take shape as something distinctively different from existing discourse. With reference to the discourse of psychopathology, Foucault identified its surfaces of emergence to be the family, social group, work situations and religious community. In addition, he suggested such new surfaces of emergence of the discourse in art, sexuality and penality (Foucault 1972:41). At these

"surfaces of emergence", Foucault describes the process whereby psychiatric discourse:

> "finds a way of limiting its domain, of defining what it is talking about, of giving it the status of an object - and therefore of making it manifest, nameable and describable." (ibid)

Thus, in the identification of the social and cultural settings in which the discourse emerges, the distinctive characteristics of the new discourse are also established.

Three principal "surfaces of emergence" can be identified from the literature on New Education. The first surface is in the predominantly private pioneer schools where New Education principles were put into practice. The second is voluntary educational societies that were important for the formulation and promotion of New Education principles. The third is concerned with the production of the discourse through the formulation of pioneer methods. The methods represent sites for the production of the discourse whereas the schools and societies are essentially institutional sites for its reproduction. The analysis of the "surfaces of emergence" of New Education begins with the institutional settings in which it appeared, the schools and societies. It is also chronological in so far as New Education had its origins in the pioneer schools in England.

4.3.2 Pioneer Schools

In the literature, the pioneer schools are described and classified in different ways. Pekin (1934) describes them as ideological types, Boyd and Rawson discuss their international distribution and institutional context and Stewart (1968) classifies them as examples of unorthodoxy in educational practice.

One of the earliest advocates of progressive education was Pekin (1934). He proposed a dual classification of

schools that "leave the child alone" and "higher thought" schools. The former were exemplified by the Russells' school at Beacon Hill and A S Neill's Summerhill. The latter were schools that bore witness to, and were run by:

> "devotees of the New Thought in one or other of its manifestations, adherents of the mystery-tippling religions" (Pekin 1934:47)

Implicit in the above descriptions is a preference for the former type of school but both share characteristics that are more desirable than the public school ethos. Pekin distinguishes four main features of progressive schools: their international outlook, inter-faith mix, co-education and their foundations in tolerance and trust. In contrast, he denounces public schools as nationalist, denominational, militarist and competitive. Thus, Pekin offers a classification of progressive schools and establishes their difference from traditional public schools.

In an attempt to chart the international context for the emergence of pioneer schools, Boyd and Rawson divide them into 3 groups. They start with the Country Boarding Schools, of which Abbotsholme in Britain was the first. It provided an exemplar for others that followed, such as the Landerziehungsheime schools, established by Dr Lietz in Germany. In France, Demolins modelled L'Ecole des Roches on Bedales, an early offshoot from Abbotsholme. By 1914, there were 50 such schools in Europe.

The second pioneer group shared with the first a common philosophical legacy deriving from Rousseau. The American Experimental schools, in contrast to the private Country Boarding Schools, were more connected with state day schools. This group began with the work of Francis W Parker and John Dewey in a different institutional context, the School of Education of Chicago University.

The third group of "Doctor-Educators" was established

on the continent. Dr Maria Montessori in Rome, Dr Ovide Decroly in Brussells and Dr Edouard Claparede in Geneva were medical experts who first established their methods with abnormal children. Boyd and Rawson chart the international "surfaces of emergence" of pioneer schools in their diverse institutional settings - private Boarding Schools, day schools attached to university departments and schools for "abnormal" children set in a medical context.

Stewart (1968) provides the most detailed study of pioneer schools. His is a fascinating account of the New School Movement which identifies the surfaces of emergence of New Schools in both the private sector and religious foundations. He intersperses his analysis of unorthodox educational practices in English schools with an awareness of the international context, the diverse theoretical influences that helped to shape the schools and the international movement in progressive education. He identifies the main progressive principles embraced by New Education Schools. These range from co-education, naturalism and creativity to co-operation, self-government and citizenship.

The schools are grouped in a threefold classification. The first group, established in the late 19th / early 20th centuries was described as "merging into English Radicalism". It consisted of the Country Boarding Schools and some religious foundation schools set up by the Society of Friends and Theosophists, which espoused certain progressive principles. The second group was characterised as the "Post-war surgence" in the 1920's, when New Schools were at their most radical, influenced by New Psychology and Psychoanalysis. This group of schools included Summerhill, Malting House and Dartington. The third group, in the 1930's, contrasted strongly with the second group. Under the heading of "The Slackening Tide" such schools as Bryanston, Gordonstoun and Wennington increasingly resembled public schools as progressive principles were muted. This implies

that during the 1930's there was an important shift away from private schools as a "surface of emergence" of New Education.

The pioneer schools are defined in the literature as distinctively different from traditional schools. In this respect, they represent a "surface of emergence" from the perspective of a Foucauldian analysis of New Education as an historical discourse. The diverse classification of pioneer schools indicates the breadth of the discourse. However, Selleck (1972) warns against too narrow an identification of New Education with schools:

> "Progressive education if limited to them would be an interesting but peripheral feature of the English educational scene." (Selleck 1972:32)

No claim is being made in this review to reduce New Education to schools alone.

This section shows that New Education as a pedagogic practice began in England in the private Country Boarding Schools. It is important to recognise that pioneer schools also intersect with other "surfaces of emergence", in particular, the family. The schools depended heavily upon parental sponsorship and support for a different kind of education than was traditionally available. Boyd and Rawson recognise the important role of parents in giving economic support to the early New Education schools.

4.3.3 Pioneer Movements

Educational societies and movements may also be identified as "surfaces of emergence" of New Education as they helped to formulate and consolidate its principles. They served as a forum for the exchange of new ideas. The important societies were the Montessori Society, the New Ideals in Education Group and the Theosophical Fraternity in Education. These were forerunners of the New Education Fellowship culminating in its formation in 1921. Boyd and Rawson, Stewart and Selleck concur on this historical record.

The Montessori Society was disillusioned at an early stage with its original method of teaching but the society extended its brief to discuss wider issues of educational reform (Boyd and Rawson 1965:65). In 1914, this society arranged a conference on New Ideals in Education. It was based on the principles of freedom and the individual. This perspective informed the work of the New Ideals in Education Group, arising from the conference under the leadership of Edmond Holmes. This latter group provided an early and significant forum for the discussion of New Education ideas. Under its auspices, the Theosophical Fraternity in Education met from 1915 until 1920 when it had expanded sufficiently to hold its own conference. Stewart argues that the idea for the NEF came from this 1920 conference at Letchworth. As the Fellowship grew, using the Theosophical network of international contacts of like-minded educationists, the Fraternity disbanded.

The societies gradually increased in scope and influence from the initial Montessori Society which provided the base for the New Ideals in Education Group. Within this group, the Theosophical fraternity was formed and this grew into and was taken over by the NEF. All of these societies represent important "surfaces of emergence" for New Education discourse. They brought together isolated pioneers and educationists committed to principles of freedom and individuality and created a forum for the reception, encouragement and criticism of new ideas.

In connection with the pioneer movements, religious organisations also represented a "surface of emergence". In particular, the Theosophical Society and, to a lesser extent, the Society of Friends endorsed early New Education principles. Both founded schools which shared many characteristics with the New School Movement, such as co-education, self-government and an internationalist perspective. Moreover, the Theosophical Society sponsored and created an international network for the New Education

Fellowship.

New Education was informed by a strong religious impulse. Stewart quotes Mrs Ensor's recollection that:

> "the first members (of the NEF) being mainly Theosophists did give the Fellowship a spiritual impulse which made it a creative and powerful force."
> (Ensor quoted in Stewart 1968:56)

However, the religious content was not generated from organised religions. Thus, the voluntary societies advocated New Education principles and made them more widely known and accepted.

4.3.4 New Methods

The creation of new methods was identified in the literature as integral to the formation of New Education discourse. These are also included as a "surface of emergence" because they contributed to the production of the discourse. Pioneer schools, societies and others invented new methods of teaching and new forms of school organisation to express the New Education ideas effectively.

In the literature most authors offer a catalogue of the methods. These catalogues were important because they helped to establish New Education as distinctive from traditional approaches to schooling. Boyd and Rawson identify pioneering work in the three countries that they consider contributed most to this reform - America, France and Germany.

In the period 1910-1921, American educators devised new methods such as the Dalton Plan (Helen Parkhurst, 1910), the Winnetka Technique (Carleton Washburne) and the Project Method (Kilpatrick). They all facilitated individualised learning based on children's interests and tailored to individual capabilities. In France, the new methods were activity-based such as Profit's school co-operatives,

Cousinet's Free Group method and Freinet's printing press. Experimental schools flourished in Germany with the aim that teachers should explore new methods. The Jena Plan formulated by Dr Petersen was particularly successful based on spontaneity, creativity and the normalization of the needs and interests of the individual and society.

In a broad review of world education in the 20th century, Connell briefly examines progressive educational developments of the 1920's. He begins where Boyd and Rawson end, with the methods of artist educators. Both authors comment on the creative techniques of Cizek, Bakule, Dalcroze, Caldwell Cook and Hughes Mearns. This aspect of New Education, with its emphasis on creative self-expression, has been one of the most enduring hallmarks of the movement. Lawson and Petersen (1972) affirm this view by pointing to the fact that many of the activities of the early progressive schools in this field are being constantly reintroduced into contemporary approaches to creative education (Lawson and Petersen 1972:104).

Diverse methods have been invented to give effect to New Education principles of freedom, individualised learning and creativity. Initially, this "surface of emergence" was restricted to limited experiments either by isolated pioneers or in individual schools in different countries. However, as Boyd and Rawson emphasise, the methods offered greater potential for wide-scale changes. They could:

> "make the ideals of freedom and democratic living effective in the ordinary state schools. The New Schools only touched a small section of the population. What was wanted was a reconstruction of education on a nation-wide scale." (Boyd and Rawson 1965:37)

As the above quotation suggests, the New Methods provided a medium for the translation of New Education ideas from private schools to the state sector. Selleck claims that they laid the foundation for post-war primary school practice.

4.3.5 Conclusion

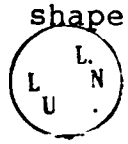
The three "surfaces of emergence" have been constructed as schools, movements and methods. These demonstrate the diversity of initial outlets for New Education discourse in different institutional contexts and in various countries. These surfaces represented disparate and small-scale experiments which gradually increased in scope and influence and established New Education as distinctively different from existing educational discourses.

It is a matter of interest that Foucault's critique of traditional histories does not apply to the ones under review as New Education did not emanate from a single site. In this sense, it is dispersed discourse. However, at this point there is a major problem with this rule of formation. It is not possible to examine the relations between the surfaces. The rule only creates a spatial metaphor which does not address the dynamics of the inter-relationship between surfaces.

It could be argued that the main principle of connection between the surfaces of emergence is their role in the production of the discourse through pedagogic methods and through the sites of its reproduction in schools and societies. It is important to distinguish between the construction of New Education as a discourse and practice and New Education as an object of historical study. As a practice, it is clear that although the schools and societies played their own part in the production of the discourse, their main function was in serving as sites for the reproduction of New Education and to sponsor its development.

4.4.1 The "Authorities of Delimitation" of New Education Identified in the Literature

Foucault defines "authorities of delimitation" as the institutions which shape and establish the discourse. He



proclaims for example, medicine to be the main "authority of delimitation" of madness:

> "medicine (as an institution possessing its own rules, as a group of individuals constituting the medical profession, as a body of knowledge and practice, as an authority recognised by public opinion, the law and government) became the major authority in society that delimited, designated, named and established madness as an object ...." (Foucault 1972:42)

Here Foucault is referring to the extensive power of institutions such as medicine to consolidate the discourse. He also mentions law, religious authority, literary and art criticism as "authorities of delimitation" of madness. It is interesting that he includes literary and art criticism even though they are not vested with institutional power.

This definition of "authorities of delimitation" which refers predominantly to the institutional power to define a discourse raises problems in its application to New Education. This discourse was not initially sponsored, delimited or designated by the institutional authority of the state educational apparatus. Rather, it was created in opposition to and therefore mainly outside of, the existing state system.

However, it is the function of the "authorities of delimitation" to delimit, designate, name and establish the discourse, which will be applied to New Education. In this sense, three major "authorities of delimitation" can be identified in the literature, two of which possess some institutional authority. These are voluntary associations, educational institutions and state agents and agencies which were the main agencies responsible for the definition, consolidation and transmission of New Education as a discourse. In the same way as Foucault established "authorities of delimitation" in the definition and confirmation of madness as a discourse, so too will this process be applied to New Education.

4.4.2 Voluntary Associations

Here attention will be focused upon the New Education Fellowship. It performed a dual function as a "surface of emergence" for the discourse and as an "authority of delimitation". This section draws from the literature an idea of the scope and influence of the NEF and comments upon each authors' perceptions of the organisation.

The description of the NEF by Connell (1980) serves as a useful introduction. He mentions it in his overview of world education in the 20th century suggesting an awareness of its contribution to international educational reform. The Fellowship is described as "a modest and durable organisation" and linked with the "Progressive Education Association" (PEA) of America in recognition of their function within the progressive ideas and information about current practices. They published journals and organised conferences and gave encouragement and support to educational pioneers. Connell argues that "the associations were a kind of informal focus for the Progressive Education movement." (Connell 1980:271).

Connell's summary is useful because it establishes the major features of the NEF as an "authority of delimitation" - bringing pioneers together in meetings and conferences, disseminating information and ideas through the journal and generally providing a "focus" for progressive education. He identifies the main role of the Fellowship but understates its importance.

Similarly, Selleck (1972) does not attach sufficient importance to the NEF. He considers it only as one of the contributory components of New Education. His account of the organisation is fragmentary. He uses the metaphor of religion to describe the development of New Education and the Fellowship is ranked among the missionaries of the progressive cause. Progressive educators were missionaries

swept along by the courage of their convictions, promoting New Education as an article of faith, rather than premised upon sound theoretical principles.

Nevertheless, Selleck records that from the mid 1920's onwards, the progressives made such an impact that historians of the period described it as "one of reform, of remaking and transformation" (Selleck 1972:101). Selleck emphasises the diverse factors constitutive of New Education. He saw progressives only as missionaries bound by a common belief in the individual child. The religious metaphor implies a coherence of the movement that Selleck is at a loss to explain in any other way. He refers to the NEF without recognising its organisational capacity or its formative influence upon the development of New Education.

The NEF is however, central to Boyd and Rawson's analysis of New Education. They explain that the Fellowship created "a centre round which all manner of ideals and experiments in new living could crystallise" (Boyd and Rawson 1965:76). They trace its development, aims, objectives and achievements using the bi-annual international conferences as landmarks for changing ideas. These served as platforms for the dissemination of new ideas, establishing contacts, generating new sections and inspired a wealth of activity. This included the formation of international study commissions and the publication of conference reports. Boyd and Rawson detail the growth of the NEF in different countries and the role of the three international journals as a medium of communication and exchange between sections.

In The Story of New Education, Boyd and Rawson devote five central chapters to the NEF and conclude with confidence that:

> "The influence of the NEF was so widespread that its growth may not unreasonably be identified with that of the New Education itself." (Boyd and Rawson 1965:128)

As members of the Fellowship, they were more aware than other authors of the extent of its activities and its role in delimiting and establishing New Education as a discourse.

4.4.3 Educational Institutions

A range of educational institutions is included here from a voluntary association called "The International Bureau of New Schools" which represented the earliest attempt to co-ordinate and disseminate New Education ideas to university education departments and teacher-training colleges which influenced teachers' perceptions. The educational institutions represent important "authorities of delimitation" of New Education because they gave academic authority to the discourse and served a crucial communication function in its dissemination.

The "International Bureau of New Schools" was started by Adolphe Ferriere in 1889 in Switzerland. He compiled a register of New Schools which he rated according to a "progressive quotient" (Stewart 1968:74). This was not widely adopted because many found it too crude an indicator (ibid:75). Nevertheless, Ferriere had great ambitions for the Bureau as a centre for educational reform with a view to "facilitating public knowledge and (the) dissemination of progressive ideas in education with a consequential effect on national legislation." (ibid).

The Bureau began as a voluntary association which merged in 1926 with the International Bureau of Education. The latter was founded a year earlier in Geneva financed by a Rockefeller Foundation grant and operated under the auspices of the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The Institute was a school of educational sciences founded in 1912 in Geneva by Dr Edouard Claparede (a doctor-educator) and Professor Pierre Bovet (an eminent psychologist). It was the first school in the world to study education from a child-centred perspective (Boyd and Rawson 1965:59). Also, it created an international

network of contacts that helped to build the NEF.

America was another centre for the delimitation of New Education both at Columbia University, New York and the University of Chicago where Dewey worked. In England, the University of London Institute of Education was established to provide an international centre for education comparable to the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Teachers' College, Columbia University. In this respect, the London Institute of Education completed the International triangle of educational institutions connected with the NEF and provided academic credibility to New Education principles. The interconnection between the NEF and the educational institutions as "authorities of delimitation" is important and adds to their effectiveness as agencies of dissemination.

Undoubtedly, the most influential "authority of delimitation would have been the teacher-training institutions. Selleck examines the role of teacher-training establishments in spreading New Education, especially in the colleges. He quotes Lance Jones' (1924) history of teacher-training which concluded that more changes had occurred in the training of teachers of young children than in any other part of the educational system. The changes were predicated upon "freedom, activity, development, happiness" (Jones quoted by Selleck, 1972:121).

Selleck does not suggest that a wholesale transformation of English primary education took place but argues that even if progressive ideas were not widely adopted in practice, they became the established educational theory and the most popular views of the training institutions (ibid:121). He suggests that they were a "haven for those who sought to spread progressive ideas and methods" (ibid:121).

Thus, the teacher-training colleges were crucial "authorities of delimitation" influencing the approach of successive generations of teachers by bringing them into

contact with New Education ideas. Selleck concludes that the colleges played the role of interpreter, spreading the progressives' ideas among new teachers (ibid:122). Without them it is difficult to imagine how New Education could have made such an impact.

4.4.4 State Agencies

There was also evidence of the spread of progressive ideas beyond the training colleges. Selleck identifies early support from the Inspectorate, many of whom were disillusioned by what they saw of traditional teaching methods. Edmond Holmes and Beatrice Ensor were the first inspectors actively to promote New Education. Holmes established the "New Ideals in Education" group in 1914 and Ensor started the "Theosophical Fraternity in Education" in 1915 and the NEF in 1921. Among other inspectors who adopted the progressive cause were Ballard, Kimmins and F S Martin.

The progressives had also begun to make an impact upon public opinion, as well as official policy. Selleck claims that progressive ideas had sufficient currency that they were adopted by people who were not professional educators, for example Sir Henry Hadow and R H Tawney. The work of the Board of Education Consultative Committee also bore the imprint of New Education in the Hadow Reports and Suggestions, the official guide to educational practice. The NEF gave evidence to the consultative committee and many other experts, who were also Fellowship members, added their support in independent evidence to the Board of Education.

Clearly, by the late 1930's, the progressives had gained the initiative in the areas of educational theory, official opinion and public debate. Selleck claims that progressives were no longer on the outside of the educational world (ibid:127). They had established pioneer schools, invented new methods, the NEF had expanded and New Education consisted of "a reasonably uniform set of ideas and procedures" (ibid:723).

4.4.5 Conclusion

Through the "authorities of delimitation", New Education took shape as a discourse and began to reach a wider audience. The NEF provided a crucial link both within and between the "surfaces of emergence" and the "authorities of delimitation". Although the NEF was created by individuals who worked mainly outside the formal educational structure, the organisation established important connections with agents and agencies of the state.

It is important to recognise that within the state sector, New Education was operative only at the level of discourse. It was not institutionalised as a school practice until the post Second World War period. Nevertheless, as a pedagogic practice, New Education was promoted by teacher-training institutions and reached a wide teacher audience. It was incorporated into educational policy and endorsed by the Inspectorate. The conjunction of the "authorities of delimitation" was important because it helped to establish New Education as the intellectual orthodoxy by the end of the 1930's and created an opening for the transition from the private to the state sector. The NEF as a voluntary organisation, made crucial alliances with, and gained the support of both educational institutions and state agents and agencies to establish its oppositional definition of education as the intellectual orthodoxy.

It was noted previously that the first rule of formation did not allow the examination of interrelations between the "surfaces of emergence". Here it should be noted that Foucault's definition of "authorities of delimitation" offers no explanation of the relationship between institutional and non-institutional "authorities of delimitation", nor does it deal with the possibility of competing definitions of a discourse. Further, it is strange that his concept does not incorporate any analysis of power relations.

4.5.1 The "Grids of Specification" of New Education Identified in the Literature

Foucault defines the "grids of specification" as the systems of classification of a discourse. In relation to madness, these are:

> "the systems according to which the different 'kinds of madness' are divided, contrasted, related, regrouped, classified, derived from one another as objects of psychiatric discourse." (Foucault 1972:42)

The "grids of specification" can be interpreted as supplying a register of the distinctive features of a discourse.

It is to the positive qualities of madness that Foucault refers in his identification of the "grids of specification" of madness. However, when applied to New Education, the "grids of specification" must also incorporate its negative qualities because, initially, the main distinguishing feature of this discourse was its opposition to existing definitions of education. Two "grids of specification" have been drawn up for the discourse of New Education. Firstly, its oppositional status and secondly, its positive dimension as a cosmological theory of individual and social change.

4.5.2 The Oppositional "Grid of Specification"

New Education was forged in opposition to traditional education. It was critical of both public and state schools, in particular the former. Skidelsky (1969) in his analysis of progressive education, argues that the one idea that progressives borrowed from public schools was that education consisted of much more than classwork. He identified the four pillars of public school education to be "classics, games, chapel and the prefect system" (Skidelsky 1969:21). Progressives were opposed to formal instruction, to memorising irrelevant information and to the rituals of competitive games and chapel. In contrast to public schools, progressive

educators believed in learning through practical activity about everyday experiences, arousing pupils interests, inspiring imaginative work and participating in a co-educational school community. Skidelsky emphasises the advantages of a progressive education in comparison with the public school ethos, concluding that:

> "the school itself was a community with important social lessons to be gleaned from shared problems and experiences largely obscured by removing one sex altogether and by handing over power to a pampered, prefectorial athletocracy." (ibid:22)

The denunciation of the 'old' system of state education was forcefully expressed by Edmond Holmes, a former HMI, who had first hand experience through inspecting many schools. His critique of the 'old' education:

> "tells of large classes, severely and sometimes cruelly disciplined, of cramming and rote learning, of large helpings of unimportant facts forced upon unwilling children, of rigid teachers concerned with getting results." (Selleck 1972:69)

Selleck claims that such denunciations of the traditional education system were often a caricature describing only its worst excesses. Such critiques represented an important strategy for New Educationists because in contrast, their ideas stood out more clearly as enlightened and as good sense. Selleck argues that "constantly, consciously and explicitly the new is balanced against the old" (ibid:70). The old education provided the New Educationists with a cause. Hence Selleck described them as missionaries.

The oppositional "grid of specification" served two important functions. Firstly, according to Selleck "the old education helped to tell the progressives what they were" (ibid:70). The oppositional grid helped to define the negative boundaries of the discourse of New Education. What it opposed made clearer what it stood for. Secondly, the progressives were united predominantly through their opposition to traditional

education. Thus the oppositional grid served a crucial unifying function for the discourse.

4.5.3 The Cosmological "Grid of Specification"

The positive features of New Education were less clearly defined. The NEF adopted an initial set of principles in 1921. These identified the purpose of education to emphasise the supremacy of the spirit, to respect the child's individuality and to promote education based on the child's interests. The aim was to encourage individual and social responsibility, to replace competition by co-operation, to endorse co-education and to prepare pupils for future citizenship (Boyd and Rawson 1965:73/4). Boyd and Rawson describe some of the difficulties of formulating these principles so that they did not offend any religious, political or national sensibilities. While it was assumed that members accepted the principles, Boyd and Rawson stressed that they were never regarded as an "educational confession of faith" (ibid:75).

The principles were rewritten at the Nice Conference in 1932, with a shift of emphasis from individual to social responsibility due to the prevailing political climate. Stewart (1968) commented that this statement was aware of "the threat to free peoples everywhere" (Stewart 1968:226). The five principles emphasise preparation of the child for the complexities of social and economic life rather than for personal freedom or the supremacy of the spirit. Both sets of principles provide the foundation for the cosmologised grid.

However, even the NEF could not be bounded by its principles. Boyd and Rawson emphasise that "Liberty has been the watchword" (Boyd and Rawson 1965:75). Indeed, Freedom represents one of the core values of New Education. Some authors claim that freedom is its most important feature. Dent (1970) described the belief in freedom as the one characteristic shared by the independent schools in the English section. He defined freedom as "spiritual, intellectual,

physical and moral for both children and adults, teachers and taught" (Dent 1970:110). Among these schools, Dent included Bedales, Frensham Heights, St. George's and Summerhill. Similarly, Pekin (1934), an early advocate of progressive education, valued freedom as one of the important features of progressive schools. He understood freedom "not as "absence of restraint" but as a "genuine morality" for the first time in education" (Pekin 1934:156).

Most authors stress the child-centredness of New Education. It is clear from Selleck's accounts that the progressives envisaged the child as "the centre of the problem of education, its alpha and omega" (Selleck 1972:93). With the child lay the progressives' hopes for a better future. If parents and teachers allowed the child the necessary freedom to develop, untainted by adult interference, they would naturally create a better society (ibid:99).

The themes of child-centredness, freedom, individuality and growth were inextricably linked in the early years. Pekin stressed a number of other features that he valued in the new schools such as self-government, co-operation and more importantly, co-education. He considered that nothing could be more important than "the right relationship of men and women with each other" (Pekin 1934:76). Skidelsky (1969) argued that co-education is probably the feature that is most associated with progressive schools (Skidelsky 1969:46).

New Education was a diverse discourse. Stewart illustrates this through the themes of the NEF conferences in the 1920's. These included the "creative self-expression of the child", "education for creative service", "The New School Movement", the "meaning of freedom in education" and the "New Psychology and the curriculum" (Stewart 1965:223/4). He sums them up in the following way:

> "These themes were all related to education and individual salvation by some kind of personal dynamic, they were nearly all critical of the rational in education and were psychological in the sense that they were devoted to personal development through freedom." (ibid:224)

However, there was some contention as to whether New Education, in all its manifestations could realise its ideal of freedom in education. Skidelsky considered that some of the New Educators were quite blind to the totalitarian potential of some of their methods. For example, in 1923 Mrs Ensor wrote an editorial in The New Era in favour of auto-education which according to Neill, represented the negation of the new dynamic psychology. As a consequence, Neill broke away from the NEF (Skidelsky 1969:158). However, most authors are aware that the Fellowship changed its perspective in the Thirties. It became more committed to the school's social responsibilities and the strengthening of democracy through education (Connell 1980:271).

4.5.4 Conclusion

New Education is a dispersed discourse. This is evident in the polarization of the two "grids of specification" as a negative system opposed to the 'old' education and as a positive cosmological theory of individual and social change. The two grids demonstrate that the literature on New Education incorporates definitions in terms of negative and positive statements. Foucault's concept of "grids of specification" has helped to establish the system of classification of the discourse of New Education. Due to the dispersed nature of this discourse, it has been necessary to extend the "grids of specification" to incorporate its negative defining qualities.

4.6.1 The Comparative Focus of an Archaeological Analysis

Foucauldian analysis makes a distinction between the discursive and the extra-discursive. The latter refers to institutions, political events, economic and social processes. In applying the archaeological method, the rules of formation of the discourse precedes the analysis of the extra-discursive. This is a reversal of the histories of New Education that are under review here. The comparative focus of an archaeological analysis is upon the extra-discursive. The comparison is

between the formation of the discourse and its social context. The literature on New Education identifies two extra-discursive features a deep-rooted opposition to industrialisation and more locally, the First World War.

4.6.2 The First World War

Selleck, writing as a historian, begins his analysis of progressive education with a chapter on "The State, the School and War, 1914-1918". In it he describes the despair of intellectuals at the outbreak of war and its impact upon schools with their gradual reorganisation to contribute to the war effort. During the war, the use of schools to promote non-educational ends brought about a change in the government's policy approach to education. Selleck claims that some of the reforms of the 1918 Education Act were due to the realisation that an efficient system greatly increased its potential to accomplish non-educational ends (Selleck 1972:20).

The war does not form the starting point of Boyd and Rawson's history but they do acknowledge its profound influence on education. They concentrate upon the impetus that the war gave to educational reform. They record the hopes that New Education methods might contribute to reconstruction on a national scale in order to make "the ideals of freedom and democratic living effective in the ordinary state schools" (Boyd and Rawson 1965:37). However, both Boyd and Rawson and Selleck point to the New Schools as examples of democratic education based on the principle of freedom. Selleck argues that the horrors of war made the appeal of progressive ideas more attractive:

> "At a time of mass slaughter and rationing, the progressives promised a new world in which the individual mattered, they spoke of freedom, growth, play, the creative arts and self-government." (Selleck 1972:87)

The above quotation provides a strong contrast between the atrocities of war and the promise of the progressives. In a

world exhausted by fratricide, the NEF was formed to promote New Education as the foundation for future democracy. Boyd and Rawson claim that the war led to a growing sense of world unity and a number of international associations were formed. In the absence of any official educational organisation, the NEF attempted to fill the gap on a voluntary basis. It contributed to preparations for peace based on international co-operation (Boyd and Rawson 1965:68).

Thus the war made an impact upon the New Education movement in several ways. The use of the educational system for the accomplishment of non-educational ideas induced an awareness of the important influence of education. This underpinned the progressives' faith in New Education as the basis for future democracy. In the aftermath of war a sense of world unity prevailed that found expression in and through the NEF.

4.6.3 The Anti-Industrial Ethos of New Education

New Education was fundamentally anti-industrial. This represents the main background to the New Education movement and forms the starting point for Boyd and Rawson's analysis. They claim that the Industrial Revolution brought people into towns and cities where children were "cut off from the vitalizing experiences of country life" (Boyd and Rawson 1965:1). They argue that the effects of mechanisation stultifying creative skills combined with autocratic discipline and passive learning led to an impasse in education.

For the progressives, industrialism implied the following:

> "ugliness, physical deformity, spiritual impoverishment and, of course, a war more terrible than any that has preceded it. It had reduced the individual to a cog in the industrial machine." (Selleck 1972:91)

Thus, in its place, the return to the countryside evident in the idyllic surroundings in which New Schools were situated,

implied both a rejection of industrial civilization and a hope for the future predicated upon the individual freedom of the child. Selleck identifies a deep-rooted romanticism in progressive thought. Wherever possible they turned their back on urban life (ibid:87).

This view of New Education as anti-industrial, anti-technocratic and intent upon creating a romanticised alternative morality was shared by other authors. Skidelsky (1969) claimed that the progressives tried to ignore the social dimension. They attempted to:

> "insulate children from the oppressive society by putting them in boarding schools in the country, encouraging pre-industrial pursuits and abolishing all 'distorting' adult directions." (Skidelsky 1969:250)

However, in the Thirties, the romanticism of the Twenties gave way to a more pragmatic approach. As the social and political climate changed from the post-war optimism for world unity, the threat to individual freedom became more than a rhetorical device of New Educationists. The NEF began to accept the inevitability of industrial society and played an important role in the defence of democratic education. Boyd and Rawson conclude their story of the NEF with the conviction of its founder, stated at the Nice Conference in 1932:

> "that education was the only power that could save civilisation .... Biologists .... psychologists .... sociologists .... all agree on the pressing need for a greater awareness and understanding of man's natural potentialities and of the lines along which human society should develop. But this is a task for much more than the schools: it demands the co-operation of all those artists, scientists and philosophers who have a vision of the future and of what man is and can become."
> (Boyd and Rawson 1965:190)

4.6.4 Conclusion

The comparative analysis contains a dual focus. Firstly, according to the literature, the First World War fostered a

nationalist consciousness in which individual interests were subsumed under patriotic notions of sacrifice and the common good. The imminent threat of death created an impulse both to preserve conservation values and to look to future prospects that would justify the sacrifice. In the post-war period the NEF promoted internationalism and restored individualism. Secondly, New Education was predicated upon an anti-industrial ethos. The NEF invested its hopes for a better future on the education of the child. It was a view of the child as charisma holding the prospect of an alternative vision of the future that opposed the relentless rationality of industrial capitalism.

4.7 Evaluation of Foucault's Archaeological Method

The application of Foucault's archaeological analysis facilitated an interrogation of both the literature about New Education and of the method itself. In the application of the archaeological method to the literature on New Education, certain problems have arisen. Foucault's critique of history has not been substantiated in two respects when applied to this literature. Firstly, it is alleged that histories start with a definition of a discourse and then proceed to elaborate upon it. None of the Histories of New Education offer an initial definition of the discourse. Secondly, it is alleged that histories search for a fixed point of origin of the discourse. There is no attempt to establish a single point of origin of the discourse of New Education. Instead the histories trace the diverse influences upon its formation.

Foucault, in The Archaeology of Knowledge, applied the archaeological method to the discourse of psychopathology. This discourse had fairly precise authorities of emergence, delimitation and specification in medical and legal institutions and practices as well as religious and familial registers. New Education cannot be so precisely defined or delimited. It lacked the sponsorship of established institutional authorities and was first formulated by a

voluntary association operating outside the state educational system with a competing definition of education. Of some importance for this thesis, the archaeological method does not offer an adequate analysis of the inter-relationship within and between the "surfaces of emergence", "authorities of delimitation" and "grids of specification". Moreover, it does not incorporate an analysis of power relations.

There were two main reasons for adopting a Foucauldian approach. Firstly, it appeared that the archaeological method could serve as a template to create coherence in the review of the highly dispersed secondary literature on the New Education movement. Secondly, it seemed appropriate to use Foucault's method because he himself applied it to the study of marginal institutions and initially the NEF was such a marginal institution.

This chapter has shown that the NEF was marginal as an area of enquiry at the margin of the histories of education. That is, the NEF was not considered as a central object of the historical discourse of education. Translated into Foucauldian terms, this would appear to be the result of the rules of formation of the discourse, especially its authorities of delimitation. The interpretation offered here, following Foucault, proposed that both General and Marxist histories, especially post-1945, were preoccupied with distributive features of education: opportunity, access and constraints. As a consequence, they were less concerned with the emancipatory interests of the caring professions and their academic supports. From this perspective, Foucault's method has been useful and relevant in explaining the marginalization of the NEF as a site for historical analysis.

In Discipline and Punish, Foucault's central hypothesis is that discourses of public control move from the margins of public discourse to the very centre. He demonstrates this movement with reference to disciplinary techniques. New Education clearly, initially followed this movement. However

it was also subsequently displaced to the margin. Foucault is able to describe the shift from margin to centre but not the social processes which make the movement possible. As a consequence of being unable to explain the process, Foucault's analysis cannot deal with a discourse which moves from the centre back to the margin.

5. General Conclusion

Initially, this chapter was structured around the presence or absence of New Education in historical analyses of 20th century education. Given the impressive stance and scope of the NEF, its absence from these texts is remarkable. The movement was mainly ignored in the General Histories and Marxist analyses of the period. It was included in Specialised Histories of Progressive Education, written when progressive education was institutionalised as a site of pedagogic practice in the late 1960's / early 1970's. The authors were committed to progressivism and they sponsored and legitimised the movement by recovering its early impetus. They provide ample evidence upon which to base the analysis of the "conditions of emergence" of New Education as a discourse but they were not critical accounts.

The analysis and review of the literature on New Education in this chapter has demonstrated that it is a dispersed discourse without strong definition. Its essential characteristic is that of 'bricolage', drawing from existing philosophies, theories and practices to create a new and fluid emancipatory pedagogy. New Education was first proposed outside the state system by a voluntary association, as an oppositional educational paradigm. This chapter charted its progress from being a marginal institution towards the incorporation of New Education discourse within the state sector to represent the intellectual orthodoxy of the late 1930's.

It is a matter of interest, as has been noted, that the General and Marxist historical analyses took as their central

concern state-provided education in the context of the relationship between education and the working class. These histories were less interested in the content of education and its forms of transmission. Instead they focused upon questions of access, opportunity and constraints. Conversely, New Education was concerned with new contents, new forms of transmission and was promoted in the context of the new middle class. Further, the Specialised histories do not establish the social base of the New Education movement, nor do they attach sufficient importance to it. One of the major aims of this thesis is to remedy the deficiency.

Footnotes. Chapter 1.

1. The close relationship between the NEF and the University of London Institute of Education will be discussed more fully in Chapter 2.

2. Walkerdine's analysis of the historical construction of the contemporary forms of primary schooling is also important for other reasons. It enables her to refute claims for the progressivism of child-centred pedagogic practices and to outline instead their disciplinary power:

> " ... the production of the truth of developmental psychology is specific to a particular set of educational practices whose object is the developing child. I have argued that such psychology and such practices are normalizing in that they constitute a mode of observation and surveillance and production of children. Given this, it is difficult to conceive of these practices as being the basis of any kind of pedagogy which could potentially 'liberate' children." (ibid:195).

3. Rose defines the psychology of the individual as:

> "a psychology of individual differences, of their conceptualisation and their measurement, of the interpretation of past conduct in the light of them and of the prognosis of future conduct in terms of them. A psychological science of the individual emerged through this act of differentiation and quantification." (ibid:5)

The psychology of the individual was constituted around concern with the "pathological/abnormal" and its historical conditions of emergence were determined by:

> "changing conceptions of pathologies of thought, belief, intellect, emotion and conduct. It is to these conceptions and the practices of government, regulation, surveillance, segregation and therapy within which they were deployed that we must look if we are to begin to identify the conditions which made such a psychology possible." (ibid:6)

CHAPTER 2

ANALYSIS OF THE NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

1. Introduction

The previous chapter examined the general literature on progressivism. Foucault's archaeological method was useful as a way of organising the literature review and, further, revealed the marginalization of the NEF. However it is not intended to apply Foucault's method to the analysis of the NEF which follows.

This chapter examines the origins and development of the New Education Fellowship. The history of this organisation has been compiled using both primary and secondary sources, neither of which are extensive. Unfortunately, the International Headquarters was bombed in an air raid in the Summer of 1941 and most of the Fellowship's records were destroyed. (The New Era 1941 Jun:134). It has proved difficult to reconstruct the history of the organisation or to gain precise information about its membership and activities.

The main source of information is the World Education Fellowship Archives housed at the University of London Institute of Education library. The organisation's journal, The New Era, provides invaluable information about the Fellowship's conferences and activities but very little about its members and administration. The best history of the NEF has been written by Boyd and Rawson (1965), both of whom were actively involved in the organisation. The following analysis of the NEF draws upon their insights as well as upon a more critical account by Sinha (1971).

The institutional analysis of the NEF first examines the theosophical underpinning of the movement and its principles and aims. Secondly, the administration of the Fellowship is divided into its financial and organisational structure.

Thirdly, some assessment is made of the type and distribution of the membership. Fourthly, the NEF's academic and international connections are briefly considered. Finally, there will be an overview of the English section of the Fellowship.

The institutional analysis of the NEF in this chapter focuses upon its formation and development from 1920-1950. Much of the analysis is sub-divided into three periods, the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's. This division reflects changes in the principles, structure and policy of the Fellowship in each of the three decades. It will be one of the organising principles of the analysis of the NEF in this thesis.

2.1 Theosophical Origins of the New Education Fellowship

The Theosophical Society (1) was the primary formative influence upon the New Education Fellowship. It is therefore necessary to trace the theosophical origins of the Fellowship in order to understand the religious underpinning of the New Education movement. Theosophy can be described as a non-sectarian religion based on the doctrine of re-incarnation. Its objective was:

> "to form the nucleus of a Universal Brotherhood of Humanity without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste or colour." (Boyd and Rawson, 1965:64)

Education represented a key concern of theosophists and it was mainly due to the efforts of Mrs Ensor (2) that a Theosophical Education group was formed in England. In 1913, Mrs Ensor organised a meeting of theosophical teachers at Letchworth in Hertfordshire. This group took as its principle of education:

> "faith in the spiritual powers latent in every child, powers which if released could create a new world where all might find true happiness." (ibid:67)

The Theosophical Fraternity in Education was founded in

1915 and, in the following year, Mrs Ensor resigned her post as HMI to become managing director of the newly formed Theosophical Education Trust. This was responsible for establishing a number of schools to be run along theosophical lines. These co-educational schools provided education from the Montessori stage to Matriculation. The most famous was St Christopher's Letchworth, which became the centre of theosophical activities.

The Theosophical Fraternity in Education met under the auspices of the New Ideals in Education Group (3) Conferences from 1914-1919. The New Ideals Group was organised by Edmond Holmes to promote educational reform. In 1920, the Fraternity held an independent conference because an expansion in membership meant it outnumbered the New Ideals Group. An alternative explanation is proposed by Sinha (1971). He claims that there was a fight between Holmes and Mrs Ensor because Holmes refused to be converted to theosophy. He regarded theosophy as too esoteric and rejected the idea of re-incarnation. Apparently, Mrs Ensor afterwards regretted the split and declared that she would never again use her educational contacts to win converts to theosophy. (Sinha, 1971:167)

At the 1920 Letchworth Conference, it was decided to widen the base of the organisation and float it independently of its theosophical origins. The idea was to form an International Association to promote world peace through education. In order to launch this organisation a conference of New Educators was arranged and financed by the Theosophical Education Trust. It was to take place in Calais in 1921 on the theme of "The Creative Self-Expression of the Child".

In 1920, Mrs Ensor also started a private publication Education For the New Era. An International Quarterly Journal for the Promotion of Reconstruction in Education. There was no mention of theosophical connections with the magazine. Instead, The New Era appeared to derive its inspiration from

the League of Nations and post-war initiatives to promote International and Experimental education. (The New Era, 1920 Jan:1). Mrs Ensor explained the absence of theosophy because educational leaders in England had become "rather afraid of our theosophy." (Ensor in a letter to Lawson 26.1.71. NEF Archives I).

The invitations to the Calais conference were issued through The New Era in order to conceal the theosophical connections. At the conference, Mrs Ensor achieved her ambition to form an International movement of New Educators, The New Education Fellowship. The name was chosen by the organising secretary of the Conference, an Austrian theosophist, Mr. Hawliezek to avoid reference to the Theosophical Society.

While the Fellowship expanded in the 1920's, the Theosophical Fraternity declined in membership losing many of its supporters to the NEF, although a small proportion continued to subscribe to both (Stewart, 1968:62). It can only be assumed that the Fraternity declined because its work was continued through the NEF where theosophical principles could reach a wider audience. However, in 1925, Mrs Ensor resigned as director of the Theosophical Education Trust after some major differences on policy and personal matters (ibid:62). The details of this disagreement were not specified, but from that date, the Trust as an active concern began to fade, disappearing altogether in 1930.

2.2 Conclusion

The formative influence of the Theosophical Society on the NEF should not be underestimated in spite of the deliberate attempts to dissociate the organisations from one another. The financial backing of the Theosophical Education Trust was crucial. Mrs Ensor recognised that without such support the Fellowship could not have been launched. (Ensor in Stewart, 1968:219). The Theosophical Society provided the ideal

backdrop for the formation of the NEF because of its worldwide network of contacts. Mrs Ensor drew upon these to generate international support for the movement. The theosophical origins further explain the non-sectarian, apolitical status of the NEF accounting for its universalistic values, idealism, political naivety and the almost missionary zeal with which it promoted New Education.

3. The Principles and Aims of the NEF

3.1 Introduction

The fist principles were drawn up at the 1921 Calais Conference and continued to be operative until the 1932 Nice Conference when they were rewritten. The 1930's was a turbulent period in which the prevailing social, political and economic conditions gave rise to several re-assessments of Fellowship principles. At the outbreak of the Second World War, the NEF issued a statement in defence of democracy. During the war, the principles were re-drafted in 1943 and once more after the war in 1947. The various restatements of principles indicate the development of NEF policy and perspectives.

3.2 The 1920's

It is important to state the original principles in full as they appeared in the issues of The New Era from 1922 onwards:

"(1) The essential aim of all education is to prepare the child to seek and realise in his own life the supremacy of the spirit. Whatever other view the educator may take, education should aim at maintaining and increasing spiritual energy in the child.

(2) Education should respect the child's individuality. This individuality can only be developed by means of a discipline which sets free the spiritual powers within him.

(3) The studies, and indeed the whole training for life, should give free play to the child's innate interests - interests which awaken spontaneously in him and find their expression in various manual,

intellectual, aesthetic, social and other activities.

(4) Each age has its own special character. For this reason individual and corporate disciplines need to be organised by the children themselves in collaboration with their teachers. These disciplines should make for a deeper sense of individual and social responsibility.

(5) Selfish competition must disappear from education and be replaced by the co-operation which teaches the child to put himself at the service of his community.

(6) Co-education - instruction and education in common - does not mean the identical treatment of the two sexes, but a collaboration which allows each sex to exercise a salutary influence on the other.

(7) The New Education fits the child to become not only a citizen capable of doing his duties to his neighbours, his nation and humanity at large, but a human being conscious of his personal dignity."

(NEF principles as stated in The New Era)

The principles emphasise the importance of an education which is organised around the individual child. The first two principles testify to the influence of theosophy in the promotion of the spiritual dimension. A much later editorial on religious education recalled how days passed in trying to find a formulation for the first principle which was acceptable to the nations represented:

> "There was some hesitation in accepting the formula at all, especially from members of those nations which were struggling to free themselves from bigotry and clericalism." (OT 1937 Mar:62)

It seems that the Fellowship required an affirmation of its religious ethos in the principles although its concept of religion was progressive in the sense that it was anti-denominational.

The third and fourth concern the educative process and the provision of an institutional environment and curriculum appropriate for the free development of individuality. The fifth principle advocates an anti-industrial ethos opposed to the competitive spirit of industrial society. This is sustained in the seventh principle which encourages co-operation and

community values through education for citizenship. The sixth principle addresses the issue of gender but does not propose equality of the sexes. Instead, a more diluted version of mutual collaboration is preferred which ignores the structural inequalities in the relationship.

The main concern expressed in these principles is the free development of the individual child. However, there is a certain ambiguity in the statement of principles between the avowed aims and the language used. For example, the role of New Education is to "prepare", "train" and "fit" the child "by means of discipline" to ensure the release of individual potential and the child's growth into conscientious citizenship. The need for education to achieve these objectives contradicts the implicit assumption that children are inherently good. In fact this ambivalence characterised the New Education movement in the 1920's.

The principles caused some controversy among New Educators. In particular, the theosophical claims of the supremacy of spirit over matter were refuted. They were considered inconsistent with other prevailing philosophies of education such as Dewey's. The principle of co-education was an essential component of theosophical education but it also proved contentious. (4) Both Stewart and Boyd and Rawson point to this principle as upsetting many people especially in Catholic countries or where single-sex systems prevailed. (Stewart, 1968:221, Boyd and Rawson, 1965:75)

In general, the seven principles are couched in fairly vague terms. Boyd and Rawson claim that although membership of the NEF implied acceptance of its principles, this was not insisted upon: "they have never at any time been regarded as an educational confession of faith" (Boyd and Rawson, 1965:75). Indeed, the NEF brought together different philosophies and methods which could be loosely grouped under the umbrella of New Education. It did not try to promote an independent orthodoxy of its own.

The aims of the NEF followed the statement of principles and were less controversial. These aims were threefold:

> "(1) To introduce these principles as far as possible into existing schools by the methods best calculated to give full effect to them, and also to establish schools for the express purpose of putting them into practice.
> (2) To promote closer co-operation between the teachers themselves throughout the different grades of the profession and also between the teachers and the parents in all types of schools.
> (3) To promote relations and a sense of solidarity between teachers and others of similar educational ideals in all countries of the world by the organization of an international congress every second year and by the publication of international magazines in English, French and German."
> (NEF aims stated after the Principles in each issue of The New Era)

The aims of the Fellowship were impressive. They incorporated strategies for the dissemination of New Education which indicated the magnitude of its project. It was intended that New Education should be introduced into all schools, both state and private, and also to establish new schools. New Education was to unite teachers thus overcoming internal divisions within the professional hierarchy. In addition, it would bring together teachers and New Educators in an international context. Finally, New Education proposed a new conception of parent-teacher relations based upon closer co-operation.

It is clear from the statement of principles and aims that, in spite of small-scale beginnings, the NEF expressed grandiose objectives in the 1920's. New Education's main concern was the freedom of the individual child, with a vision of education releasing innate potential to create a more humanitarian race. New Education integrated universal values with personal development through what shall be described as a philosophy of "universal personalism".

3.3 The 1930's

In the Thirties, the Nice Conference (1932) marked a turning point in NEF policy. An early editorial anticipated the redrafting of Fellowship principles from the 1920's endeavour to "formulate the spiritual basis of the New Education" to "a philosophy of life that can link the diverse peoples together in a common programme of action" (OT, 1932 Feb:43). In the context of world economic crisis with the prospect of war and the appropriation of New Education ideas to serve totalitarian regimes in Italy and Germany, it was necessary for the NEF to rethink its position (Boyd, 1957:200).

At the Nice Conference, there was little agreement about the content of the new statement of principles. There was however, a general consensus that educators should confront social issues. Opinion was divided over strategies for their solution. Many advocated a laissez-faire approach in the belief that schools should concentrate on educational issues. Others felt that the solution to social problems could be achieved by creating the right educative environment for children so that they grew up into well-adjusted citizens. This psychologically-based approach was favoured by Montessori and Piaget in their conference addresses at Nice. A considerable proportion of members wanted schools to play their part in changing society through the strenuous efforts of New Educators (Boyd, 1957:202). Some measure of the divergence of opinion is evident from the length of time taken to redraft the principles.

A draft statement of the new principles appeared in the 1934-36 Report. They carried the proviso that they did not represent dogma but rather offered an indication of the direction of Fellowship work. The statement was the following:

> "(1) Education should equip us to understand the complexities of modern social and economic life, safeguarding freedom of discussion by the development of the scientific spirit.

(2) It should make adequate provision for meeting the diverse intellectual and emotional needs of different individuals, and should afford constant opportunity for active self-expression.
(3) It should held us to adjust ourselves voluntarily to social requirements, replacing the discipline of fear and punishment by the development of intelligent initiative and responsibility.
(4) It should promote collaboration between all members of the community. This is possible only where teachers and taught alike understand the value of character and independent judgment.
(5) It should help us to appreciate our own national heritage and to welcome the unique contribution that every other national group can make to the culture of the world. The creation of world citizens is as important for the safety of modern civilization as is the creation of national citizens."

(1934-36 Report WEF Archives I:25)

The new principles identified the role of education in social change. The first and last principles advocated an understanding of "social and economic life" and the transcendence of national differences as a precondition for establishing a universal culture and world citizenship. The NEF adopted a philosophy of holism in this period. The earlier emphasis upon developing the spiritual powers of the individual was absent from the new principles. Instead, the NEF invested its hopes for a better future in a pedagogic politics of social transformation through the right education of individuals. The concern with personal development was confined to the second principle. Nevertheless, the individual remained the agent of social change at the heart of the transformatory politics of Reconstruction.

At this stage in the 1930's, the NEF principles still avoided an explicit indictment of fascism. The fourth principle contained a veiled criticism of fascist forms of education in its valuation of independent judgment. Sinha in his analysis of the NEF, maintains that the new statement of principles was vulnerable to fascist interpretations because it suggested that different provision should be made to cater for different emotions and intellectual needs. This provided the grounds for "racialist and separate treatment of classes

and peoples" and "can be used to justify the domination of individual by the state" (Sinha, 1971:203).

However, the evidence does not support Sinha's assertion. The NEF opposed the use of education for indoctrination because it suppressed the freedom of the individual. Sinha's interpretation conflicts with the permanent aims of the Fellowship which were rewritten in 1937. These aims are:

> "(1) The NEF sets out to further educational improvement and reform throughout the world so that every child - whatever his nationality, race, status or religion - shall be educated under conditions which allow of the full and harmonious development of his whole personality, and lead to his realising and fulfilling his responsibilities to the community.
> (2) The NEF does not consider education as confined to the year of instruction in home, school or university, but as a continuous process throughout the life of every individual. It therefore maintains an alert and critical interest in all aspects of life and society which affect education and seek to encourage those which appear favourable to its aims." (The NEF Today, 1937 WEF Archives I:25)

The first aim summarises the 1932 statement of principles promoting the role of the individual in the construction of world citizenship. It is incompatible with fascist interpretations of education because it upholds the right of every child to "the full and harmonious development of his whole personality" regardless of nationality or religion. The second aim is new in its definition of education as a continuous process.

The changes in the principles and aims in the Thirties reflected a new political awareness of the Fellowship. It aimed to create world citizens through educating children for their role in future society. The decade closed with the issue of NEF statements urging action against fascism. The American section of the NEF was first to issue a statement "For the Understanding and Defence of Democracy" in November 1938. This was followed by a statement from the English Section in February 1939. The ENEF appealed to educators to strive for

a democratic system of education in which democracy is experienced in daily life and independent thought is encouraged and expressed through practices based on discussion (ENEF, 1939 Feb:55).

3.4 The 1940's

During the war, much thought was given to NEF policy with the result that a new statement of principles was issued in 1943:

> "It is proposed that the International NEF shall be concerned with problems that arise in directing education throughout the world along the lines of a liberal philosophy of man and society. Education so concerned would try to secure for all children a happy childhood and a satisfying youth and would seek to provide opportunities for all to develop their individual capacities as well as to ensure that there shall be an increasing understanding of the ideal of world citizenship and the needs for international co-operation." (NEF Pamphlet 1943 NEF Archives I:25)

While the primary interest in the individual development of the child/youth was sustained in the Forties, this statement was more overtly political than its predecessor. Through international initiatives the NEF hoped to achieve its objective to promote the free development of individuals and communities. Education would encourage the values of tolerance, understanding and goodwill necessary for peace and international co-operation.

In the policy statement, the NEF declared its intention to relate its work to government initiatives, international agencies and other societies. At the same time, the Fellowship would retain its freedom of action while recognising "the need for the concentration of informed voluntary effort behind the measures of Reconstruction which governments are now planning" (NEF Pamphlet, 1942 WEF Archives I:25). In the Forties, the NEF played an important role in regrouping its international network to foster discussion and co-operation between nations in pursuit of world unity and peace.

In the post-war resurgence of NEF activities the underlying philosophy of the organisation was restated in the light of the lessons learnt from the experience of war. The main points of the draft statement of aims are summarised:

> "Education consists of fostering the fullest possible development of the potentialities of each person both as an individual and as a participating member of this interdependent world society .... This requires the creative thought and active work of men and women .... who are sensitive both to the needs of children, youth and adults and to the needs of a society striving towards a world order of peace and justice.
>
> The NEF is an organization through which such men and women in each community and every country, can find fruitful interchange of thought and experience and the co-ordination of their practical educational work. It aims to unite in one worldwide organization those who are striving to comprehend and satisfy new educational needs as they arise in the forward struggle of mankind."
> (Draft statement of NEF aims, 1947 Sep/Oct:146)

These aims were formulated in the post-war climate of fear of future warfare and the spectre of the atom bomb. This contrasted with the emphasis which accompanied post World War I expectations of Reconstruction. In the late Forties, the NEF identified as its most urgent priority the promulgation of world peace and unity through education.

3.5 Conclusion

In the 1920's, the Fellowship sought to establish a spiritual basis for its principles in which the freedom and personal development of the individual child were of paramount importance. The concept of "universal personalism" aptly describes this period in which the freedom of the child was a necessary pre-requisite for the creation of a higher order of humanity.

In the social and economic climate of the Thirties, the NEF emerged from its religious cocoon to develop a new political realism. The philosophy of holism focused upon the

"whole" child and embraced all aspects of his socialization and education. This philosophy was discussed at the Nice Conference in an attempt to achieve the conditions for a universal culture. However, this ambitior was thwarted by the advent of totalitarianism. By the end of the Thirties, the Fellowship reformulated its position in defence of democracy. The experience of war in the Forties, cast a shadow over Fellowship activities. In this period, the NEF prioritised world peace and unity in a practical pedagogic politics devoted to planning for democracy.

4. Finance

4.1 The 1920's

Very little information is available about the financial management of the NEF. The organisation was launched with the generous financial support of the Theosophical Society. In the 1920's, the main source of income was from the subscriptions to The New Era. The Fellowship also relied heavily upon private donations and grants from various organisations. Gradually, as national sections formed, they helped to support the work of the international movement. At the 1927 Locarno conference, the international organisation was formally established and national sections were required to pay a further subscription fee in order to be affiliated to the international movement.

4.2 The 1930's

In the Thirties, with the NEF on a more established footing, it was no longer possible to manage with the services of a voluntary staff and a piecemeal income. With the expansion of the Fellowship on a worldwide basis it was necessary to appoint at least one full time member of staff to coordinate its activities. In 1932, the Fellowship bought its own headquarters in London. However, the income from subscriptions and various other sources was not sufficient to cover the activities of the national sections and international

work. A number of initiatives were adopted to increase income by generating new categories of subscriptions and offering a variety of services to research organisations but these were not sufficient to avert a financial crisis in 1936. This coincided with the non-renewal of a Rockefeller grant from America which had been worth up to 3,000 pounds per year.

In response to the crisis, the full time paid administrator resigned his post because the NEF could no longer afford his salary. The lease of the headquarters was sold to pay off some of the mounting deficits and changes were made in the administration of fellowship affairs. The work of the international headquarters and the English section, which had been previously run together, were separated financially and administratively. The section dues were also increased to cover the cost of a central office and enquiry bureau (The NEF Today, 1937 WEF Archives I:25).

In an article in The New Era, the treasurer explained the financial crisis and appealed to members for the support necessary to maintain fellowship activities (Laccan, 1937 Mar:89). With the exception of the loss of staff, it would seem that NEF activities were not severely curtailed. As Sinha pointed out, no real retrenchment occurred (Sinha, 1971:26).

4.3 The 1940's

With the outbreak of War the NEF was anxious to continue its work but was forced to make stringent economies. Throughout the War, the fellowship relied upon subscriptions and private donations. The American section provided the main support for the international headquarters with a grant from the Carnegie Foundation (Document 52, 1940 WEF Archives I:35). In addition, The New Era carried frequent appeals for donations and subscriptions. Nevertheless the financial situation was precarious for most of the period (Soper, Document 69, 1944 WEF Archives I:35).

The post-war period brought some improvement as national sections were revived and membership increased. Gradually the number of NEF staff was increased to two full time secretaries and a part time editor for the journal. In 1946, the NEF moved to new offices in London but further plans to increase staff and services were dropped when a new financial crisis arose in 1947 (Soper, 1947 Report WEF Archives I:35). A new member of staff was appointed in 1948 to try to resolve the organisation's financial difficulties. Interestingly, this state of crisis did not inhibit Fellowship plans for an ambitious and expensive programme of activities (Soper/Keeling 1968 Report WEF Archives I:35).

4.4 Conclusion

Throughout the thirty year period, the NEF did not achieve financial stability. It relied upon the only resources available to a voluntary organisation, subscriptions, donations and grants. Nevertheless, the size and scale of the Fellowship, the establishment of an international movement and the scope of its activities represented an impressive achievement on a limited budget.

5. Organisation Structure

5.1 The 1920's

The NEF began with a minimal structure. Mrs Ensor, in conjunction with Dr Adolphe Ferriere and Dr Elizabeth Rotten, formed an executive committee to manage the Fellowship. Mrs Ensor was anxious that the association should be:

> "very elastic and untrammelled by the usual crystallizing influences of rules, a constitution, committee meetings etc" (OT, 1921:218)

The reason given for preferring a loose structure was that it allowed freedom for each country to pursue its own interests or to co-operate with other countries (ibid). Boyd and Rawson confirm that in the early years, freedom was the watchword of

the organisation. However they also recognise Mrs Ensor's personal influence "what leadership there was came from Mrs Ensor" (Boyd and Rawson, 1965:76/7). It is perhaps ironic that freedom from structural constraints left the organisation more susceptible to the charismatic leadership of Mrs Ensor.

With the expansion of the Fellowship it was necessary to create a more effective and representative organisational framework. In 1927, following the Locarno conference, the national sections were formally recognised and became affiliated to the International Council (The New Era 1927 Oct:112/180). The International Council consisted of the three Directors and the elected representatives of national sections and the editors of associated magazines. It met only at the bi-annual conferences, but this arrangement was not sufficient to cope with the management of Fellowship affairs.

At the Elsinore Conference in 1929, a consultative committee was appointed which became officially recognised as the Governing Body of the NEF in August 1931. The council contrived to function in an advisory capacity. Unlike the International Council, the new committee was chosen for their interest in the Fellowship and their ability to promote its activities. This committee represented the beginnings of a more democratic structure for the organisation which was less dependent upon the whims of the leadership.

5.2 The 1930's

The composition of this first Executive Committee as listed in Appendix 2, demonstrated the ability of the NEF to attract well known international educators. The presence of notable male academics from the University sector was significant, comprising half of this committee. There was only one practising teacher represented on the first committee, although Mr Lynch and Mr Rawson were former teachers. Two educational administrators also served on the committee. Among the sixteen members, only three were women, an imbalance which

was consistently reflected in subsequent committee structures.

The balance of the committee by the end of the Thirties was four women to seventeen men, with nine male academics, four teachers and three administrators amongst them. The academic triangle of the Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau, Switzerland, Teachers College, Columbia University and the University of London Institute of Education were represented by Prof. Jean Piaget, Dr Harold Rugg and Prof Fred Clarke respectively. This academic triangle provided an important institutional framework for the NEF and the dissemination of New Education ideas. The composition of the committee was evidence of the influence of the Fellowship in the international field of education with famous educators willing to further its work by serving on the committee.

With the growth of the committee structure, the influence of the leadership declined. Mrs Ensor went to South Africa in 1934 to run her farm after her husband's death. This move meant that she could no longer exert the same influence over Fellowship affairs. At the 1936 Cheltenham conference she resigned as chairman of the NEF in favour of Laurin Zilliacus. She accepted the newly created position of President instead. Dr Ferriere was forced to give up many of his Fellowship activities owing to increasing deafness. He handed over much of his work to Professor Pierre Bovet. Dr Rotten had to flee from Germany to escape persecution by the nazi dictatorship. Her place was taken by Dr Rugg and Dr Washburne, both American educators who exercised an important influence upon the direction of Fellowship activities. Whilst the original leaders maintained a lifelong interest in the NEF, their sphere of influence had declined dramatically by the mid-Thirties.

The aims and principles of the NEF were reflected in the organisational structure. Sinha makes an interesting assertion that in the 1920's, the leadership considered education as a spiritual rather than a political matter. He claims that:

> "The organisers made a deliberate attempt to engender the feeling that a new religion was being born which would

> sanctify man and purify the atmosphere of a war-shattered world through the medium of education." (Sinha 1971:181)

Sinha provides only a partial explanation. Certainly, there was a religious accent to the organisation, an other-worldliness which excluded any consideration of politics. But, although the leadership may have wished to project their religious aspirations onto the organisation, they also recognised the importance of establishing a broader base for the movement, hence the efforts to suppress its religious origin. Moreover, the committee of the Thirties did adopt a more pragmatic political orientation in the face of world economic crisis and the advent of extreme nationalist dictatorships.

The committee of the 1930's was described by J.B. Annand, who replaced Clare Soper as International Secretary in 1951. He commented that:

> "Its permanence, the fact that most of its members had come to know each other well produced a unity of purpose and a harmony of minds that made it a forceful and imaginative group." (Annand 1952, Diary of the WEF 1920-52, WEF Archives I: 25)

After the Nice Conference in 1932, the NEF tried to create new structures for world unity by electing five permanent vice-presidents of the world conferences. They were:

Sir Percy Nunn, Director of University of London Institute of Education.

Professor Paul Langevin, France.

Professor Pierre Bovet, Geneva, Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau.

Professor John Dewey, USA, Lecturer at Teachers College Columbia University.

Dr Rabindranath Tagore, India.

(Diary 1920-52 WEF Archives I:25)

This was an impressive list of renowned international academics, based predominantly in the universities who further reinforced the intellectual preeminence of the Fellowship.

5.3 The 1940's

During the War, the elections of the executive committee were suspended and the Board remained the same for ten years (Soper, 1945 Report, WEF Archives I:35). In the event, it was not possible for the committee to meet and most of the NEF affairs were agreed by the Headquarters Committee on their behalf. The Headquarters committee consisted of the English members of the Executive and is listed in Appendix 2. This committee continued to reflect the male academic bias with four university lecturers, three of whom were from the University of London Institute of Education. It is not possible to ascertain exactly when the Headquarters committee was formed or whether it continued after the war.

In 1947, a new Executive was elected and also a new President. Mrs Ensor resigned her position because she was unable to maintain close contact with headquarters. Dr Carleton Washburne was elected in her place and Mrs Ensor accepted the newly created position of Honorary President (Soper 1947 Report WEF Archives I:35). The new executive was not announced in the 1947 Report although Clare Soper, Secretary of the NEF, commented that "our notepaper displays as fine an array of international educators as can be seen anywhere" (ibid).

The new Executive Committee maintained only two of the original members - Professor Jean Piaget and Dr William Boyd. The predominance of male academics was still evident with at least six university lecturers. There were only three women members which meant that the Fellowship had made no attempt to redress the gender imbalance of previous committees. Some of the new members, such as Dr Carleton Washburne, Professor Saiyidain and Dr Kees Boeke were active in the Fellowship in the Thirties, either writing for The New Era or lecturing at NEF conferences. The occupations of other new members such as Dr R.J. Best from Australia, Dr M. Specht, Dr T. Brameld and Mr Gregersen were not given.

The most notable feature of the new Executive was that it did not include educational innovators of the calibre boasted by previous committee lists. It is also noteworthy that the committee had gradually narrowed in the range of occupations of its members over the years. The first executive included teachers, lecturers, psychologists and administrators. By the late Forties, the executive consisted of predominantly male university lecturers thereby reflecting the increasingly intellectual orientation of the Fellowship.

At the elections of the new Executive Committee, three new permanent vice-presidents were appointed. They were Dr Ferriere, Dr Rotten and Professor Katsaroff (Document 90, 1949 WEF Archives I 37). As the appointees were all long-standing members, it was likely that they were given honorary titles in recognition of their services to the Fellowship.

5.4 Staff

Miss Clare Soper was the first full-time member of staff. She was appointed as the International Secretary of the Fellowship in the early 1920's. She remained on the NEF Staff throughout the period of this study and finally retired in 1951. In 1930, Wyatt Rawson joined the staff as a full-time organising director. He was a quaker teacher and his job was to co-ordinate Fellowship affairs.

In 1932, the move to the new headquarters was also the occasion for administrative changes. Wyatt Rawson, as Co-Director and Clare Soper took on the additional responsibility of the membership department. Dorothy Halbach gave secretarial assistance. She was responsible for the Information Bureau and also one of the assistant editors of The New Era. The other assistant editor was Dr Peggy Volkov. Mr A.J. Lynch, a headmaster, became field secretary, working in a voluntary capacity as a visiting speaker on behalf of the NEF. Consuelo Oppenheim was appointed as Commission Secretary, responsible for collecting and collating the findings of the

commissions which were set up at the Elsinore Conference (1929).

The financial crisis of 1937 led to Mr Rawson's resignation because the NEF could not afford his salary. The staff were cut back to two full-time secretaries, one of whom was Clare Soper. Peggy Volkov worked in a voluntary capacity until after the war when she joined the staff on a paid part-time basis as editorial secretary (Soper 1946 Report WEF Archives I:35). It was only through the combined efforts of Clare Soper and Peggy Volkov that the NEF was able to continue its work during the war. Between them, they maintained contact with as many national sections as possible, assisted refugee members, administered the English section and edited The New Era (Boyd and Rawson 1965:114).

In 1945, the NEF moved to a new headquartes with two full-time secretaries and one part time editor. In the post-war revival, there were plans to appoint a travelling secretary to provide support for national sections and organise regional conferences (Report 1948 WEF Archives I:35). The appointment was not made due to insufficient funds. In 1949, Mr Guy Keeling was appointed to the staff as a joint secretary with particular responsibility for the Fellowship's financial affairs (ibid).

Throughout the thirty year period, the NEF relied upon the services of a small staff predominantly of women to manage the day to day administration of its affairs. Stewart comments on the devoted services of the officers, especially Mrs Ensor, Dr Rotten, Clare Soper and Peggy Volkov. He recognises:

> "The devotion and energy of this group of persons, each of whom devoted a long life to the movement .... gave a remarkable coherence and continuity to an organisation which places no great store by its institutional mechanisms." (Stewart 1968:229)

5.5 Conclusion

The NEF was subject in its formative years to the personal influence of the leadership. In the absence of a more formal structure, the organisation was susceptible to the charismatic authority of Mrs Ensor. It is ironic that the informal organisation, proposed in the interest of freedom created the conditions for greater intervention from the leaders.

With the growth of the Fellowship and the formation of national sections affiliated to the international movement, a more effective organisational structure was required. The recognition of national sections was delayed until 1927 in order to establish the Fellowship as primarily an international organisation which transcended national differences. The initial framework of an international council, consisting of the three Directors and representatives from national sections, was not successful. It was replaced by an Executive Committee whose members were committed to the Fellowship's work. This created a more democratic and representative structure for the NEF in the Thirties and Forties.

In the Thirties and for most of the Forties, the committee lists included an impressive array of international educators. They provided ample testimony to the ability of the Fellowship to attract men of repute, especially from the Universities. The Executive committees did not represent the full spectrum of the New Education movement. They were comprised of mainly male university lecturers, teachers and educational administrators reflecting the narrow occupational base of the members.

It is difficult to assess the influence of the Executive committee upon NEF policy. There was a definitive shift from the more esoteric, religious influence of the early charismatic leadership to the politically-oriented perspective of the democratic executive structure. From the 1930's, with the election of the permanent vice-president, the Fellowship used the organisational framework to strengthen its objective of

world unity. In this respect the structure of the organisation reflected its principles and aims.

6.1 Membership

In the absence of archival records there is very little statistical information about the membership. Some impression of members can be gained from editorial appeals to and comments about the nature of the Fellowship. The growth of national sections and the conference attendance figures convey an idea of the size and distribution of the international movement.

6.2 1920's

Initially, Mrs Ensor envisaged the Fellowship as an international association of teachers and a community of educational pioneers (OT 1920 Jan:3). Her vision of the NEF was expressed in the following terms:

> "The Fellowship is more than a band of people trying to express certain ideas. It is a great reservoir of force in the Collective Unconscious which can be drawn upon by individual members. In moments of loneliness and discouragement a member can feel that the strength of the whole Fellowship is with him. The power which flows from union will enter into him and a new vitality infuse itself into all his works. He can contact through his unconscious the ideas and inspiration of the other members and gain enrichment." (OT 1925 Oct:98)

It is interesting to find the fusion of the Jungian concept of "Collective Unconscious" and Fellowship which has both theosophical and intellectual connotations. These exalted claims for the power of the NEF to create a quasi-spiritual communion among educational researchers imply an almost religious belief in New Education. Indeed, this impression was confirmed by Boyd 1957, an early member of the organisation who served on the Executive committee. He described the community of interests within the NEF in terms of "a basic faith underlying the diversity and giving inspiration to the separate endeavours" (Boyd 1957:193).

An idea of the growth of the movement is given by the rising attendance levels at the bi-annual conferences. At Calais in 1921, where the NEF was launched, over 100 members attended from 14 countries. By 1923, attendance had almost quadrupled for the Montreux (Switzerland) conference with a more cosmopolitan representation of nations. For example, there were members from many European nations, Scandinavia, USA, Russia, Egypt and Japan. Heidelberg (Germany) in 1925 was the last of the small conferences with 450 members from 29 nations. After 1925, membership of the Fellowship expanded rapidly. This was reflected in the numbers at Locarno (Switzerland) in 1927 where 1,100 members were present. The last conference of the decade was held at Elsinore (Denmark) with 1,800 in attendance.

The cost of running these conferences in attractive European locations must have been prohibitive. The Calais conference was sponsored by the Theosophical Society and it is possible that the Society also subsidised the later conferences. Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine that many teachers could afford to attend them unless they were further subsidised or had minimal travelling/accommodation expenses. Presumably, it was only those more established in the field of education such as university or teacher training tutors or educational administrators who participated in the conferences. In other words, the conference attendance figures may well give an indication of the size of the specialist membership rather than the main body of the movement.

Throughout the 1920's, national sections had formed. They were officially recognised at the 1927 Locarno conference. By the end of the Twenties, sections had been formed in the following countries:

1. Europe - Scotland (1924), England (1927), France (1921), Switzerland (1927) and Turkey (1928).

2. Eastern Europe - Czechoslovakia (1921), Hungary (1925), Yugoslavia (1926), Bulgaria (1927), Poland (1927) and Rumania (1928).
3. The Americas - The Progressive Education Alliance was formed in USA in 1919. It was a similar organisation to the NEF and sent representatives to the 1927 Locarno conference, South America (1928).
4. Scandinavia - Denmark (1926), Sweden (1927), Norway (1929) and Finland (1929).

The Fellowship formed its early sections in predominantly European, Eastern European and Scandinavian countries. The three Directors toured many countries to encourage the formation of new sections and met with relative success. It was important to establish the international base to the movement if it was to achieve its objectives. According to Boyd, this internationalist perspective was the unifying force underlying the NEF:

> "In the interests of their own children and those of the world they had come together and found each other persons, sharing this disinterested interest, and on the basis of it were I and Thou (5) to each other. They differed in most other respects - nationality, race, language, religion, politics, education and traditions - but in their concern for the well-being of the coming generation they discovered themselves respect - worthy neighbours with common problems to be discussed and solved." (Boyd 1957:198)

The attraction of an internationalist perspective can be partially explained in terms of the war-invoked world-consciousness expressed through organisations such as the League of Nations and also in terms of the universalistic values stemming from the theosophical origins of the NEF. However the quotations from Mrs Ensor and Dr Boyd demonstrate the emphasis, within the Fellowship, upon the inter-personal and intra-personal relations that were supported, evoked and sustained by the collectivity.

6.3 THE 1930's

In the Thirties, there was a continuing trend of expansion in the membership as the NEF broadened the base of the movement to include parents, social workers and all those interested in children's welfare (Report 1934-36 WEF Archives I:25). The NEF had established a reputation among educators and attracted well-known experts to promote its cause. Sir Percy Nunn, Director of the University of London Institute of Education admitted his initial misgivings in joining the Fellowship. He felt that it was perhaps a "superfluous thing". He claimed that:

> "What converted me was the discovery that the NEF was able to bring together not only educational people in this country, but educational people from all over the world. It has only to announce that an International congress will be held .... and there is a great convergence from all over the world upon the place where the conference is to be held." (Nunn 1932, Dec:369)

The fact that the NEF was by now well established was reflected in the conferences. They were the most highly publicised Fellowship activity and attracted large audiences throughout the Thirties. In 1930, a Japanese conference was attended by 500 members, the British Commonwealth Conference by 700 members and 1,800 participated at the Sixth world congress at Nice in 1932. Still larger audiences attended the 1934 South African Conferences with estimated audiences of 4,000. The NEF organised a tour of Australia and New Zealand where over 20,000 took part in the conferences (Boyd and Rawson 1965:chapter 6).

The growth of national sections in the Thirties represented a more internationalist perspective. New sections formed in the following countries:

1) Europe - Belgium (1930), Northern Ireland (1930), Holland (1936) and Spain (1933).
2) Eastern Europe - no new sections.

3) The Americas - The PEA became the American section of the NEF in 1932, Canada (1937).
4) Scandinavia - no new sections.
5) The Far East - Japan (1930), Ceylon (1936) and Indonesia (1938).
6. The Middle East - Egypt (1938), Iraq (1938) and Syria (1934).
7. The Commonwealth - Australia (1930), South Africa (1934), All India Federation (1935), W. Indies (1936) and New Zealand (1938).

In 1937, a census estimated a world-wide following of 30,000 members with 1,700 members in USA, 1,500 in Japan, 1,000 in England, 1,000 in Australia and 1,000 in South Africa (WEF Archives World Section 44). This growth in the NEF can be attributed to a number of factors. By this stage, the organisation had established a more effective national and international structure as a framework for Fellowship activities. The conferences attracted increasing audiences and helped to establish a reputation for the NEF in the field of education. Moreover the NEF had identified a political project in its opposition to totalitarianism and defence of democracy which further increased its appeal (6).

The theme of the 1936 Cheltenham Conference was freedom in education. Inspired by the mood of the conference, the editorial of the conference issue of The New Era carried this appeal:

> "The Fellowship calls to men and women of every race, within and without the teaching profession, to join in using education to safeguard democracy for the coming generations. We have embarked on a great intellectual and spiritual adventure which calls for courage, clear thinking, tolerance, self-sacrifice." (OT 1936 Sep/Oct: 225)

The keynote of the NEF's activities in the latter part of the Thirties, was the defence of democracy but even this project was invested with spiritual significance. Nevertheless this was an important shift which must have established a broader

base for the movement than its quasi-religious ethos of the Twenties.

6.4 The 1940's

The Forties witnessed a decline in membership following the outbreak of war. Many national sections were either shut down or closed voluntarily for its duration. However, a small group of members kept the movement functioning. At an early stage, The New Era carried many appeals for new members.

> "Education will be a vital instrument in restoring freedom and civilisation. We intend to play our part in creating an education equal to this task .... The English section invites you to join in its work of preparing for the future." (Advertisement 1941 Mar:66)

In 1941, an international conference was held in the USA under the auspices of the American section. It was attended by some 2,000 members, among them were representatives from South American countries. Subsequently new sections were formed in Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Chile and Paraguay (Report 1943 WEF Archives I 35). After the war, sections in occupied countries gradually regrouped and were able to play an important role in planning the national Reconstruction of education as, for example, in France and Holland. The International headquarters made it a priority to resume contact with its sections, especially in occupied Europe. 1946 was a year of revival and more new sections formed in the Canary Islands and Assam.

The renewed contact with national sections confirmed headquarters' impression that

> "the New Education, far from losing ground had gained adherents and grown more precise in plan and intention under the years of oppression."
> (Report 1945 WEF Archives I:35)

By the end of the 1940's, new groups and sections were still being formed and the NEF was able to boast of the existence of

sections or groups in over 30 nations. The German section was one of the last to be regrouped in 1950.

The NEF directed its appeal mainly to teachers in the Forties, in the belief that they could contribute most to the promotion of democracy through education. The Chairman of the NEF, Dr Laurin Zilliacus, stressed the unity of purpose of the Fellowship and the need to keep faith with its mission:

> "In these times, when from day to day the world's future appears to become more and more precarious, we must within the Fellowship do our utmost to develop among our members a sense of the oneness of mankind, a realisation of solidarity so deep that because of it we can understand and cherish the differences among us."
> (Report 1946 WEF Archives I:35)

After the war the membership were still divided over the appropriateness of a religious/psychological response or a socio-political approach to shared objectives. The division reflected the earliest tensions within the NEF between the religious, as represented in the old-style leadership, and the political, spearheaded by the new leadership of Zilliacus, Rugg and Washburne. The differences between the two sections were eloquently expressed in the 1947 Report:

> "And though it was still easy to sort ourselves out into Martha's and Mary's - into those who bend all their energies upon the reform of man's institutions and social environments and those who bend them upon self knowledge and reform from within - we differed without bitterness .... Politically-minded and religious-minded members of the Fellowship have found no easy compromise between their views but have found a way of putting up with each other's 'wrong-headedness' for friendship's sake and for the sake of peace." (1947 Report WEF Archives I:35)

In the Thirties and Forties, the NEF adopted a socio-political approach to foster world unity, but the psychological/spiritual element was surprisingly tenacious. Zilliacus, who preferred the former solution, claimed that he had great respect for the latter and urged that both parties should contribute to the formulation of NEF policy (Zilliacus

1947 Sept/Oct:147). The unity of the membership lay in their shared objective to foster a democratic, trans-national world citizenry.

6.5 Conclusion

In the period from 1920-1950, the NEF was at its peak of activity. In the 1920's, the movement grew sufficiently to establish an international structure and reputation for its work. In the Thirties, the Fellowship was well established and extended its international contacts. It attempted to broaden the base of the movement beyond professional educators to incorporate all those interested in children's welfare. In the Forties, membership declined for the duration of the war but there was a resurgence in the post-war period as the NEF renewed its aim to promote democracy through education.

Without precise statistics it has proved difficult to establish the size, scope and influence of the NEF. Nevertheless, in this period (1920-1950), the Fellowship boasted a peak of membership at 30,000 world-wide, an international structure with national sections all over the world and an international reputation for its educational mission.

7. The Connections Between the NEF and Academic Institutions and International Organisations

7.1 Introduction

This section briefly examines the role of the NEF in forging connections with academic institutions and international organisations. In the 1920's and early 1930's the Fellowship established a rapport with educational institutions in its development of New Education at an international level. In particular, this section focusses upon the relationship between the NEF and the University of London Institute of Education. In the Forties the NEF adopted a more political orientation to foster internationalism and played a

direct role in the founding of UNESCO.

7.2 Academic Connections

In the 1920's and Thirties, the NEF was anxious to establish New Education on the international educational agenda. When the League of Nations was founded it had no corresponding educational organisation to foster internationalism. The NEF attempted to fulfil that educational function. The Montreux conference in 1923 sent a letter to the League suggesting that it should start an International Bureau of Education in Geneva. Although the League did not provide the funds, private backing enabled the Bureau to be established as a centre of information and research on New Education. Professor Jean Piaget was appointed as its first Director in 1930 thereby maintaining its link with the NEF (Diary of the WEF 1920-52:27, WEF Archives I:25).

When the NEF headquarters was opened in 1932 it served as an educational centre. Contacts were established with similar bureaux in other countries. In addition to the International Bureau in Geneva, the French, German and Austrian sections each had their own bureau in Paris, Berlin and Vienna respectively. In 1932, representatives from all the bureaux met in Paris so that they could co-ordinate their services more fully. There were plans for an American bureau in New York and also one in Warsaw for the Polish section. These plans did not come to fruition, halted by the onset of totalitarianism. Eighteen months after the Paris meeting, the German Director, Dr Hilker was dismissed, the Vienna Institute closed and the Warsaw plan abandoned (ibid:27).

In the 1930's, the NEF played its part in the formation of the Institute of Education in London. In an otherwise interesting account of the transfer of the London Day Training Centre from the authority of the London County Council to the University of London, C. Willis Dixon (1986) makes no reference to the role of the NEF in this process. Dr Percy Nunn,

Professor of education at the University of London and Principal of the London Day Training College, wanted the Institute to be an international centre for education. Plans for the Institute included a research bureau similar to the International Bureau in Geneve (incorporated into the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau) and Teachers College at Columbia University, New York. The Fellowship fully endorsed this aspect of the proposed Institute.

In July 1931, the NEF organised the British Commonwealth Conference to lend support to Nunn's proposals for the Institute. The conference was attended by 700 members from all over the Commonwealth and with representative speakers. Following the statute of Westminster, the relationship between Britain and the Commonwealth was no longer directly maintained by political subordination. At this conference, it was proposed to strengthen the relationship through education and, at the same time, convince the University authorities of the necessary role of the Institute (Boyd and Rawson 1965:89).

The theme of the conference was "Changing Education in a Changing Empire". Percy Nunn, as President, explained the role of the Institute:

> "Thus it is to be hoped that the Institute will be a focus, whence there will converge from time to time the best experience and the wisest thought in the educational systems of the different Dominions .... Out of that intercourse in the Institute with teachers and students from all parts of the Commonwealth, there would be built up a common educational consciousness and something of a common education doctrine, which would not limit the individual development of our Great Commonwealth systems of education, but could not fail to subserve the cultural unity and fraternal understanding of the free nations of the Commonwealth." (Nunn 1931 Sep:303)

The proposal was that the Institute of Education would provide an international centre of research and information. The outcome of the Conference was that the plans for the Institute were confirmed (ibid:90). In addition, many notable academics who worked at the Institute of Education were also

active members of the NEF. Sir Percy Nunn, Sir Fred Clarke and Dr G B Jeffery succeeded one another as Director of the Institute and President of the English section. Susan Isaacs was appointed by Nunn to the first department of Child Development and she also chaired the English section. Cyril Burt, Professor Lauwerys and Professor Karl Mannheim also played influential roles in both the Institute and the Fellowship.

From the history of the inauguration of the Institute of Education and the catalogue of its staff membership of the NEF, it is clear that close connections existed between the Fellowship and the Institute (7). The NEF attracted international educators and helped to establish education as an intellectual discipline through its conferences. Conversely, the Institute of Education provided academic legitimacy and an institutional site for the discussion and dissemination of New Education. The Institute represented a dominant and enduring influence as the apex of the international academic institutional triangle consisting of the London Institute, Teachers College, New York and the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Geneva.

7.3 International Connections - UNESCO

By the 1940's, the NEF advocated a political function for education. The NEF took advantage of the presence in England of representatives of allied governments to organise a conference in 1942 to discuss international plans for Educational Reconstruction. This conference was successful, persuading those present of the need for an international organisation. Consequently, a second conference was arranged in London in November 1945. Delegates represented the governments of forty-four countries and were responsible for drafting a constitution for a United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).

The NEF were closely involved in establishing UNESCO especially through the efforts of Sir Fred Clarke and Dr Henri Wallon (Boyd and Rawson 1965:154). Also some of the national delegates were Fellowship members such as Professor Piaget and Professor Saiyidain (Report 1945 WEF Archives I:35).

The first declaration of UNESCO was reprinted in The New Era and endorsed many Fellowship themes. The ambition of the Thirties to create a common culture had been abandoned in favour of international co-operation to secure an education for justice, liberty and peace. UNESCO was established:

> "for the purpose of advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organisation was established and which its charter proclaims." (UNESCO in The New Era 1946 Jan:1)

The interconnection between UNESCO and the Fellowship was evident at the first conference in Paris (1966) where at least twenty NEF members represented their countries. Many of the leading members of the Fellowship were commissioned by UNESCO for services in the central offices or in national projects. For example, Professor Carleton Washburne worked in the New York office, Dr Rotten helped with UNESCO's appeal for children of devastated countries and Dr Zilliacus and Dr Wallon worked for UNESCO.

Thus a reciprocal relationship obtained between the two organisations. UNESCO endorsed the NEF's belief in "the creative power of a true education" as "the accepted doctrine through which the forward-looking nations hoped to find their way to a new humanity" (Boyd and Rawson 1965:154). This facilitated the wider acceptance and dissemination of Fellowship views. Also UNESCO provided invaluable financial support for some NEF research and commissioned other projects. The role of the NEF was not usurped by UNESCO as some members feared because of the nature of the two organisations. The

1948 Fellowship Report explained their interdependence:

> "UNESCO has realised that its pace is bound to be somewhat slow, limited as it is, to the pace of the governments which control its destiny. Free, voluntary organisations can move more quickly in certain spheres .... There is always a New Education - something a little ahead of what is accepted by the majority - and it is in these uncharted regions that the NEF must do much of its work." (Report 1948 WEF Archives I:35)

7.4 Conclusion

The NEF was successful in forging both academic and political connections at the international level to realise its aims for New Education. The international conferences provided an important mechanism to gain support for both the academic and political initiatives described above. The NEF played a small part in launching the University of London Institute of Education and UNESCO. Subsequently, the Fellowship maintained close contact with both. The Institute offered an institutional site for the dissemination of New Education ideas and UNESCO also increased the acceptability of the minority views of the Fellowship. Both were instrumental in the transformation of New Education from a minority perspective to a mainstream solution to problems of educational reconstruction. Both confirmed the Fellowship's commitment to internationalism.

8. The English Section of the Fellowship (ENEF)

The English section was established after 1927 when the NEF recognised a formal structure of national sections. Until that time, the national work was undertaken by the NEF headquarters. The ENEF developed a more practical approach to education evident in the programme of action published in 1937. This was concerned with such issues as examinations, nursery eduction, raising the school leaving age and teacher training. Stewart describes ENEF policy as based on principles of co-operation rather than competition and self-discipline rather

than coercion (Stewart 1968:226). It aimed to make the Fellowship principles match more definite objectives and was therefore more involved with pedagogic politics.

The ENEF involved some of the key figures in British education in a unique constellation of university lecturers, teacher-training college tutors, teachers from private and state schools, educational administrators, psychologists, psychiatrists and representatives from educational associations. The Presidents were predominantly drawn from the Universities. The first was Sir Michael Sadler, Master of University College, Oxford followed by Sir Percy Nunn, Sir Fred Clarke and Professor Jeffery, all Directors of the University of London Institute of Education (ULIE). Professor Tawney of the London School of Economics and Professor Nicholson from the University of Hull also served as Presidents in the 1930's. One exception was Mr E. Salter-Davies, Director of Education for Kent, who served as President from 1932-3.

Many of the ENEF committee members were also university lecturers. Professor Lauwerys, Chair of the Department of Comparative Education, Professor Mannheim, chair in Education, Dr Susan Isaacs, of the Department of Child Development and Professor Hamley, chair of the Department of Educational Psychology were all from ULIE. There were also representatives from Goldsmiths College such as Mr David Jordan and Professor Fred Schonell, chair of education at the University of Wales.

The representatives from the training colleges included Miss Lillian de Lissa, Principal of Gipsy Hill and a Montessori specialist and Miss Catherine Fletcher, Principal of Bingley college. The administrators were mostly Directors of Education for local authorities, for example, Mr Salter-Davies, Mr H.G. Stead, Mr E. Woodhead and Mr J. Compton. Mr C.W. Kimmins, ex-chief Inspector for the London County Council was one of the first vice-presidents with Edmond Holmes.

The teacher representatives included the heads of the Progressive boarding schools, Mr J.H. Badley of Bedales, Miss Isabel King of Frensham Heights, Mr W.B. Curry of Dartington and Mr K.C. Barnes of Wennington were all members of the committee. However, there were also teachers from across the range of state infant, elementary and secondary schools. Mr H.C. Dent chaired the first ENEF committee. He was then a grammar school teacher and later published a number of books on the British Education System. Mr A.J. Lynch, head of a London elementary school, was an active member of the NEF Executive.

The bias of the ENEF committee was overwhelmingly educational. However, a few psychologists were involved such as Sir Cyril Burt and Professor Ben Morris. There was also representation from the children's department of the Tavistock Clinic. Dr Alice Hutchinson was a vice-President of the first committee. The Tavistock Clinic was an important formative influence upon the NEF in providing a psychoanalytic perspective.

The ENEF established a rapport with other voluntary educational associations such as the Nursery School Association and the Froebel Society. It established the English Association of New Schools to enable the staff of New Education schools to meet. One English Section project was to launch the Home and School Council to further parent education and parent-teacher co-operation. The Home and School council was housed at NEF headquarters but had a separate committee (with NEF representatives). Nevertheless a close relationship existed between them. Another organisation with which the NEF was closely involved in the 1930's and 1940's was the Association for Education in Citizenship. This was chaired by Lord Simon who advocated citizenship training in defence of democracy (Whitemarsh, 1972). Both organisations joined forces in 1942 on a joint committee on the content of primary and secondary curricula chaired by Dr Stead (NEF Diary 1952 WEF Archives I:25).

The ENEF also established a good relationship with the Board of Education. However, Nunn complained that the NEF was not taken seriously enough. The British Ministers of Education did not attend or send representatives to NEF Conferences as they did on the continent. Nunn commented:

> "One feels that the English representation there is not worthy of English education in the sense that the representations of France or Germany are worthy of the educational systems of those countries."
> (Nunn 1932 Dec:369)

As the Thirties progressed, the English section assisted the Board of Education Consultative Committee enquiries (Boyd and Rawson 1965:99).

In the 1940's, the ENEF was very much involved in planning the post-war reconstruction of English education. The 1942 Bedford Conference was described as a landmark in the history of ENEF Conferences because it began to shape the desired future of English education (Clark 1945 April:78). The discussion led to a set of proposals which the ENEF sent as their submission to the Board of Education's White Paper on Educational Reconstruction. There were further conferences to discuss the White Paper and the McNair Report in 1943 and 1944. The English section was also invited to submit a report to the Fleming Committee Enquiry into Public Schools (Clarke 1943 Bulletin 11 Jul/Aug).

Through the organisation of Conferences to encourage discussion of Educational Reconstruction and its submission to the Board of Education, the English section was closely involved in the planning and implementation of the 1944 Education Act. In this period, the ENEF:

> "enjoyed a reputation for sane idealism and practical sense among educators and educational organisations."
> (Boyd and Rawson 1965:136)

From its inception in 1927, the English section provided

a forum for progressive educators to discuss and implement a programme of educational reform. In spite of the academic orientation of the ENEF committee, the English section was most concerned with pedagogic politics and enjoyed a reputation of practical reform and sane idealism. It was in the 1940's that the English section reached the peak of its achievement and its membership, numbering over 2,000. Its main contribution towards planning for Educational Reconstruction was to encourage the widest public discussion of policy proposals, to draw up a set of recommendations based on these discussions and to serve the Board of Education in an advisory capacity. The ENEF managed to incorporate Fellowship principles into a progressive pedagogic politics of educational reform.

9.1 General Conclusion

The institutional analysis of the NEF has focused upon the formation and development of the organisation from 1920-1950. Much of the analysis was divided into three periods. This division reflected changes in the principles, structure and policy of the Fellowship in each of the three decades. The distinctive characteristics of each period will be summarised below.

9.2 The 1920's

The NEF was launched by the Theosophical Society in an atmosphere of post-war optimism about the role that education could play in the work of Democratic Reconstruction. The NEF provided an educational underpinning to Internationalism inspired by the universalistic values of theosophy and the work of the League of Nations to foster world unity. The Fellowship was influenced by the personal leadership of Mrs Ensor, Dr Ferriere and Dr Rotten and governed by their belief in freedom in education. The NEF was invested with a quasi-religious significance, conveying a sense of a world-transformatory mission.

Throughout this period, the NEF attracted many followers and established an international reputation through its bi-annual conferences, journal and national sections. The philosophy of the Fellowship incorporated a dual focus through the desire to achieve the conditions for freedom in education and a belief in the innate potential of the individual child to strive for a higher order of humanity. The NEF appealed to educators to establish New Education as an academic discipline and to teachers to incorporate New Education in their pedagogic practice. At this stage, it was important to provide an academic underpinning for the nascent science of New Education.

By the end of the Twenties, a new more democratic structure evolved with the recognition of a structure of national sections and the formation of an international executive committee. The formation of national sections counterbalanced the primarily internationalist orientation of the Fellowship and enhanced the importance of international committee structures to sustain its internationalism. The Fellowship began as a small-scale international organisation with grandiose objectives incorporated in its philosophy of universal personalism. Theosophy was an important formative influence which provided a religious underpinning to the Fellowship's mission and explained its apolitical posture. However, the importance of religion did not detract from the NEF's endeavour to establish New Education as a serious academic discipline and to convert teachers to its cause, thus providing a practical foundation for New Education.

9.3 The 1930's

The 1930's represented a watershed in which the NEF was emerging from its spiritual cocoon to take cognisance of world economic and political conditions. With a new democratic structure, the Fellowship advocated a philosophy of holism. It was predicated on the development of the whole child and was discussed at the 1932 Nice Conference as the prerequisite for a universal culture. The Fellowship's ambition was to create

the conditions for a universal culture which transcended national differences without deprecating them. This initiative was thwarted by the advent of totalitarianism.

In this period, the NEF expanded rapidly with an estimated worldwide membership of 30,000. It achieved a broader international base for the movement with the creation of new sections in most Commonwealth countries. The Fellowship enjoyed an international reputation and consolidated New Education as a legitimate academic discipline through its connections with university education departments and teacher-training institutions. There was a relationship of reciprocity between the Fellowship and academic institutions as each conferred status upon the other. The former fostered international interest in and public discussion of New Education and the latter provided academic legitimacy and an institutional base for the wider dissemination of New Education among trainee teachers and educators.

The Thirties was a watershed between the religious quest of the Twenties and the later political project of the Fellowship. The objectives of the NEF assumed greater urgency in its stand against fascism and defence of democracy. This enhanced its appeal and attracted a more diffuse audience for the international movement to foster world unity.

9.4 The 1940's

The Forties was overshadowed by the war. The international headquarters staff took over the management of Fellowship affairs for its duration. In spite of a temporary decline in membership, the English section of the Fellowship remained active while many European sections were closed. The Fellowship adopted a new pragmatism in response to the exigencies of the war. It provided information and advice on wartime problems such as evacuation schemes, received refugee members from occupied European countries and devised strategies for wartime education. One of the main NEF activities was to

encourage the widespread discussion of Educational Reconstruction. The keynote of the period was planning for democracy through education.

In this period, the NEF concentrated its appeal on teachers as the principal agents of change through teaching new conceptions of citizenship. After the war, there was a massive resurgence of Fellowship sections and the organisation achieved the peak of its membership. The conception of planning for democracy took on new meaning in a desire to prevent future warfare and promote international peace. The politics of transnationalism provided the motivation for Fellowship initiatives. In particular, the NEF provided the inspiration behind the formation of UNESCO. The NEF was also actively involved in the work of education. The Forties was a period distinguished by a newfound pragmatism and a pedagogic politics of transnationalism.

The thirty year period of this study represents the pinnacle of NEF achievement. The division of the time into three distinctive decades has emerged in the description of different facets of the organisation and will be subsequently used as one of the organising principles in the analysis of The New Era in Part II of this thesis.

However, there are also some important continuities between the periods. The NEF always maintained an intensive focus upon the individual child although it increasingly recognised that the individual had limited effectiveness as an agent of world social transformation. Religion was a pervasive influence upon Fellowship perspectives throughout the thirty year period, although its significance was muted in the Thirties and Forties when a political awareness informed Fellowship activities. Finally the NEF always sustained an internationalist orientation in its endeavour to foster world unity. This implied the transcendence of national differences which partially explained the Fellowship's myopia towards the prevailing socio-economic context.

The institutional analysis of the New Education Fellowship provides the context for the analysis of New Education as reflected in The New Era. The NEF was the agency most responsible for the institutionalisation of New Education.

Footnotes. Chapter 2

1. The Theosophical Society was founded in New York in 1875 by Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott. The main leader in this country was Annie Besant. (Stewart 1968:53).

2. All the principal protagonists of the New Education Fellowship and discourse are listed in Appendix 1.

3. The New Ideals in Education Group was started by Edmond Holmes, an ex-HMI. It was formed as an offshoot from the Montessori Society to discuss new ideas in education. Its origins were described in Chapter 1.

4. Interestingly, the principle of co-education was changed in the mid-Twenties to a more diluted advocacy of "co-operation between the sexes". Unfortunately, there was no comment in the journal to explain this alteration.

5. The concept of "I and Thou" derives from Martin Buber. He was a philosopher who believed in Existential Judaism stemming from the Hasidic tradition of Polish Jewry in the 18th Century. The emphasis was upon spirit rather than dogma, relation rather than law and collective joy in faith and practice. This was compatible with the religious ethos of the NEF and Buber was one of the speakers at the 1927 Conference.

6. In the early Thirties, the NEF attempted a dialogue with Fascist and Nazi educators in the belief that totalitarianism was a blind offshoot of the evolution towards world unity:

> "Throughout the course of history, periods of dictatorship have been only temporary. They represent a deep and widespread demand for leadership and authority in times of suffering, confusion and fear. We must try to remove their causes, though this does not mean that we must condone their processes. It is possible from the point of view of evolution the present confusions are inevitable. Before we can have a world commonwealth we must have nationhood, and therefore the strong national movements in some countries are perhaps a necessary part of the greater plan." (The New Era OT 1936 Sep/Oct:225)

Such a belief derived from theosophical conceptions of the evolution towards the ultimate realisation of a universal brotherhood of man but was not widely shared within the Fellowship. From the mid-Thirties onwards, the NEF was more outspoken in its indictment of Facism culminating in statements in defence of democracy in 1938/39.

7. In a memo to the Director, Dr Lauwerys described his duties as Chairman of the NEF, which endorses the interconnectedness of the Institute and the Fellowship:"This is an important job and takes a lot of time. It involves steering an influential organization, planning conferences, maintaining contacts, planning research, exploration and publishing, corresponding with people all over the world. The conferences are especially important. By doing this work, the name of the Institute gets associated with international activities". (Lauwerys (1944), memo to the Director, 23 March. From Professor Lauwerys's Personal file in the Institute of Education Archives).

P A R T II

THE NEW ERA AND ITS INTELLECTUAL FIELD

Introduction to Part II

Part I involved the use and critique of Foucault's archaeological method in a consideration of the conditions of emergence of New Education identified in the literature review in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 provided a detailed institutional analysis of the New Education Fellowship. Thus, Part I established the backdrop to the more specific analysis of the intellectual field of New Education in Part II.

The five chapters in Part II focus exclusively on the Fellowship's journal The New Era. This journal warrants such detailed analysis because it is the main reference to the New Education movement and its discourse. The NEF's archives were destroyed in the Second World War and The New Era thus represents one of the few remaining sources of information about NEF aims, policy and activities. The detailed analysis of The New Era both complements the analysis of the emergence of the New Education movement in Chapter 1 and offers an in-depth record of the content and development of New Education discourse.

Chapter 3 establishes the institutional framework of The New Era, its mission, administration and policy. Chapter 4 examines the main themes and features which supply information about editorial policy and the journal's projected readership. Chapters 5 and 6 concentrate upon articles exclusively, to carry out a detailed empirical analysis of both authors and contents of New Education discourse. Chapter 7 offers more selective insights into the language and ethos of New Education discourse and its emancipatory interests.

The aim of Part II is to construct an empirical specification of the intellectual field of New Education based on an in-depth examination of The New Era. The author analysis will identify those involved in the field-creating process and the content analysis will achieve a more precise formulation of New Education discourse, its theoretical perspectives and practical applications.

CHAPTER 3

MISSION, ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY

1. Introduction

This chapter and the next four chapters are based exclusively upon the New Education Fellowship's journal, The New Era. Such a detailed study of the journal is proposed as a means of charting the evolution of the Fellowship and, in particular, the intellectual field of its discourse of New Education. In the absence of additional archival information, owing to the destruction of Fellowship's records in the Second World War, the journal serves as the main testimony of the organisation and its discourse. The major aim of Part II is to use the journal to construct the intellectual field of New Education discourse. This chapter examines the institutional arrangements of The New Era to give the context for the development of the intellectual field of New Education discourse in the next four chapters.

The chapter is divided into the three main sections of mission, administration and policy. The New Era was committed to a new vision of education which might lead to a better society. The first section explores the journal's mission in terms of its origins and objectives. The second section describes the administrative context, the financial arrangements, circulation, staff and editorials. The final section identifies the editorial policy and political complexion of the journal.

2. Mission

The origins of The New Era have already been stated in Chapter 2. Mrs. Beatrice Ensor was the creator both of the Fellowship and the journal, but the latter was sponsored by wealthy theosophists and backed by the Theosophical Society. It was clear from the outset that Mrs Ensor intended the

magazine to play an integral part in the Fellowship. She proposed that The New Era, in conjunction with French and German equivalent editions, should form the main link between NEF members and provide an international medium of communication of new ideas in education.

The objectives were clearly stated in the powerful editorial of the first issue which was written by Mrs Ensor. She proclaimed that the dual objectives were to promote International and Experimental Education which she placed in the context of post-World War I Reconstruction. An idea of the scope of the venture and the spirit of the magazine can be gained from the first editorial:

> "We desire that "Education for the New Era" (the original title) shall be a medium through which each country may acquire that which is of value in the principles and practices of others.
> This quarterly, therefore, will in no way confine itself to any national administration, or to matters of purely national interest. It will rather, try to foster that wider spirit of democratic brotherhood springing to life in so many of the movements of today ....
> We desire that this Magazine shall help to bring Freedom and Tolerance and Understanding into all relations not only between parent and teacher and child, but also between one nation and another...
>
> In "Education for The New Era" we hope to publish accounts of different experiments, providing encouragement and stimulation, perhaps at a critical time, to some lonely worker. We wish, through these pages, to make such pioneers feel that they are members of a widely scattered brotherhood, thus giving them a sense of unity and strength, and an inspiration to still further effort." (OT 1920 Jan:3/4)

The above quotation promoted internationalism as a central aspect of The New Era's endeavour. The intention was that the journal should provide a sense of community, a spirit of international brotherhood to unite isolated educational pioneers. In this aim, the formation of the New Education Fellowship was envisaged as an international, intellectual community. The editorial also anticipated that the magazine would foster "Freedom, Tolerance and Understanding" in

relations between nations, teachers, parents and children. This represents a vast and varied target audience, although the journal's primary concern was with teachers and educators.

The original title chosen for the magazine was Education for the New Era, with the sub-heading - "An international quarterly magazine for the promotion of reconstruction in education". However, by the fourth issue, in response to complaints from publishers that the title was too long, it was abbreviated to The New Era retaining the same sub-title (OT 1920 Oct:94). The Outlook Tower (the editorial feature) stated that this change recognised the hope of creating a better society. The New Era lay ahead through Reconstruction according to New Education principles. At this early stage, New Education was defined negatively in opposition to existing education and positively in terms of freedom. The key to Reconstruction was the principle of freedom, interpreted as follows:

> "Freedom for each child to work out his own individuality in his own way, freedom for every nation to work out its own individuality, free from any outside moulding influences." (OT 1920 Oct:94)

The promotion of freedom in education provided a crucial underpinning of the magazine's objectives. After the formation of the New Education Fellowship at the Calais Conference in 1921, The New Era henceforth published a statement of the Fellowship's aims and objectives in every issue (see Chapter 2 for the discussion of them).

In 1930, the magazine changed its title, for a second time, to The New Era in Home and School in recognition of the importance of the home in early development. Since 1924, the role of parents had received sporadic attention through the promotion of children's psychological welfare. However, in 1930, parents became more specifically incorporated into its objectives:

> "In its new form, the magazine has three main objects. It will focus attention on the child at home suggest how

> to prevent and treat undesirable behaviour and deal with topics that interest (and often perplex) parents. But it will also remain the teacher's Outlook Tower on the world of progressive education. Readers who are parents may thus gain an insight into school problems, while those who are teachers may obtain an insight into home problems.
>
> The third main object will be to serve as a channel for educational thought. Everyone, everywhere - parent, child and teacher - has to face the same fundamental problems. By pooling experiences, by reading with the same end in view, by thinking in harmony, we shall create an attitude, a feeling, a mental unity that will foster the cause of peace." (OT 1930 Jul:4)

This restatement of objectives implies a shift from the Twenties' focus on the institutional features of schooling to a concentration on home life. New Psychology (an amalgam of psychological perspectives that were predominantly psychoanalytically based, in particular, child development) gained ascendancy over New Education as the mother-child relationship assumed priority over the teacher-pupil dyad. The attention to the home background offered greater potential for change through the promotion of progressive pedagogies to a wider audience which was no longer confined to the private sector.

The projected changes in the magazine's objectives in the Thirties, accommodated the fact that New Education was unlikely to succeed without a similar transformation in the parents' approach to the child. The above quotation suggests a shared venture between parents and teachers through "pooling experiences", "reading with the same end in view"and "thinking in harmony" (ibid). This implies an equality in the relationship between parents and educators which was not substantiated in the magazine's approach to parents.

The keynote of the Thirties was "active parent-teacher co-operation and child study". The attention to the child's home life was generally welcomed. In a message to the editors, praising the magazine, Ramsay MacDonald, the Labour Prime Minister at that time, expressed this conviction:

> "... it interests me to know that the "New Era" is widening its field to include home as well as school education. For the home is the first school, and the influence of the home can be traced throughout a life. The best school in the world can be of little use if the home is unworthy." (MacDonald 1930 Jul:43)

Several prominent members of the Fellowship also conveyed their approval. Dr. H. Crichton-Miller, Honorary Director of the Tavistock Clinic, and Dr. William Boyd, a lecturer in education, were both convinced that parents needed enlightenment (1930 Jul:2). Dr. Boyd claimed that:

> "I have come to see that important as it is that the school should be a centre of new life, the deeper need is for the transformation of the home. If The New Era in its altered guise can inspire the parent as it has inspired the teacher the next generation will owe you a big debt of gratitude." (Boyd 1930 Jul:2)

The importance of parent education was frequently emphasised, especially in the early Thirties. It facilitated parental co-operation in the achievement of New Education objectives. This more accurately reflects the magazine's attitude towards parental involvement. It recognised that parents had an important role to play, but incorporated them as receivers of New Education's pedagogic message to reproduce at home. The New Era addressed parents as an audience for pedagogic messages rather than presenting them with a more active role to play in the creation of New Education. They were not equal participants.

The Forties' approach was strongly influenced by the Second World War. There was tension in the Thirties between a holist philosophy of education untroubled by political awareness and a more pragmatic assessment which acknowledged class and social factors. It was resolved with the outbreak of war when The New Era launched whole-heartedly into a defence of democracy. This strategy involved a practical assessment of wartime evacuation and education schemes and the planning of post-war educational Reconstruction. In 1939, a new function was proposed for the magazine:

> "The exceptional circumstances in Great Britain, where thousands of children and their teachers have been evacuated from vulnerable areas, throw up a host of educational problems .... We hope through The New Era to ventilate these problems and the possibilities they unfold, if those having first-hand experience of them will help us to do so." (Fellowship News 1939 Sep/Oct:239)

The New Era now entered a more pragmatic phase and provided a valuable forum for the discussion of war issues, as well as providing information and advice. For example, three issues examined evacuation dilemmas, another described educational experiments in wartime schools and yet another discussed "our part in a World at War". Indeed, the 1943 Report of the New Education Fellowship indicated that, directly as a result of its wartime policy, the journal had increased in prestige (1943 Report, WEF Archives I:35). Boyd and Rawson (1965) confirmed this impression when they wrote that "The New Era became more important than ever as a source of enlightenment and inspiration" (Boyd and Rawson 1965:114).

3. Administration

The New Era was owned by Mrs. Ensor who received financial backing from wealthy theosophists. They were not named specifically but they were likely to have been Miss Dodge and Mrs. Douglas-Hamilton who previously supported the Theosophical Educational Trust (See Chapter 2). The New Era was expensive, with an annual subscription of 4s 6d. With the formation of the New Education Fellowship in 1921, subscription to the magazine implied ipso facto membership. However, when the English section formed in 1927, a membership fee of £1 1s was introduced. This increased fee included the magazine, section dues and use of the services of the international bureau.

The magazine carried frequent appeals for new subscriptions. At the end of the first year, the editorial announced that the magazine had received much support but aimed to expand further "in order that The New Era shall become a power in education, as it well could be ..." (OT 1921 Jan:125).

Many of the appeals emphasised the benefits that additional income would bring in terms of improving the quality and appearance of the product. One "Outlook Tower" stated that, the magazine was non-profit-making, the staff voluntary and administration costs kept down so that most of the income was devoted to "the actual development of the magazine for the benefit of education" (OT 1922 Apr:39).

Financially, The New Era was never very secure. In 1930, the magazine switched from a quarterly to a reduced price monthly edition. The change was introduced partly in response to a demand for a more frequent publication of the magazine and partly in the hope that a cheaper edition would bring more subscribers (OT 1931 Jun). As a quarterly The New Era cost 2/- per issue, whereas as a monthly it cost 6d. However, there was no reduction in the annual subscription fee. It was reported that, after one year, the increase in circulation had not been sufficient to justify the reduced cost. Either the membership must double or the costs raised (ibid). Subsequent issues continued to appeal for members to encourage friends, schools, libraries etc to subscribe.

In 1936, Mrs Ensor contemplated giving up the magazine altogether. She felt that, since her husband's death and her enforced absence in South Africa, she could no longer afford the financial risk involved in maintaining the magazine. She launched an appeal to the readership in which she claimed that the magazine could continue on a secure, financial footing if membership increased fivefold (Mrs Ensor 1936 Sept/Oct:253). In the event, Mrs Ensor was persuaded to continue publication.

3.2 Membership

The exact circulation figures were never printed, but The New Era conveyed an impression of an ever-increasing circulation though not at the pace expected (eg OT 1931 Jan:3; OT 1931 Jun:184). In 1930, Professor Godfrey Thomson, professor of education at the University of Edinburgh, implied

that the magazine was both popular and successful, at least among students:

> "I welcome the monthly New Era particularly because its attractive appearance and its enthusiasm make students read it. It shares its objective of recording educational experiments with other magazines (though they are all too few): but in gaining an audience it is unrivalled." (Thomson 1930 Jul:2)

The NEF census in 1937, estimated an English speaking membership of 3-5,000. The limited audience evoked the following comment from Mrs. Ensor:

> "The New Era is never likely to be a national magazine with a circulation of hundreds of thousands. Its appeal is directly to those who are responsible for the upbringing of children and who are not content to limit their responsibility to feeding, clothing and instructing them." (Mrs. Ensor 1936 Sep/Oct:253)

In this quotation, the target audience is clearly parents and teachers. Mrs. Ensor implied that it was their moral duty to read the magazine if they wanted to supply more than the children's basic needs. It was typical of Mrs. Ensor that subscription to the magazine should entail a moral imperative.

In the Forties, The New Era survived on subscriptions and donations. For the duration of the War, the magazine was greatly reduced in size. This must have considerably reduced the cost of publication. After the War, in 1946, Mrs. Ensor generously made a gift of The New Era to the Fellowship (1947 Report WEF Archives I 35). This prompted a reorganization of its administration and subscriptions to the magazine and the Fellowship were separated. However, this did not affect the magazine's status as the official organ of the Fellowship.

Throughout the period, 1920-1950, in addition to donations and subscriptions, The New Era carried advertisements. These included notices of meetings of sympathetic societies and publishers' lists of New Education books and recommended school texts, for example, from Longman's, Harrap's, Allen and Unwin,

University of London Press and many others. Many of the advertisements were directed towards teachers giving job vacancies, the directory of training colleges, courses and diplomas and advertisements for other educational association events.

Similarly, the directory of schools (see Chapter 4, Section 8 for the analysis of school advertisements) was for the benefit of parent members who could afford private education. The number of advertisements placed in The New Era gradually increased, especially those for schools. Initially, advertisements featured on the inside covers or occasionally on an additional page. In the mid-Thirties, the directory of schools was introduced, at the back of each issue, which occupied up to four pages. This continued in the Forties, but with fewer advertisements during the war period. The continued presence of advertisements suggests that The New Era had a sufficiently wide circulation to warrant their inclusion.

3.3 The Editorial Staff

The services of the editorial staff were entirely voluntary. Mrs. Ensor was the first and most significant editor from 1920-1945. She enlisted A.S. Neill as Assistant Editor. However, he proved a rather controversial figure with outspoken ideas. After two years, A.S. Neill resigned to take up a teaching appointment in Germany. There were no reasons given in the magazine for Neill's resignation but Sinha (1971) provides some insight on Mrs. Ensor's relationship with him. Sinha relates that she had asked Neill to co-edit the magazine in order to encourage a wider readership, his appointment implying a broader based movement than theosophy. However, his concept of freedom upset some theosophists because it implied absence of moral direction or mutual respect between child and adult. Moreover, his Freudian inclinations and self-confessed "crankiness" were not favourably received.

After the split, Mrs. Ensor maintained friendly relations with Neill. They met again in 1932 to unite against the attack on progressive schools by the Board of Education's Report on private Schools (Sinha 1971:176). Clare Soper, the first secretary of the NEF, replaced Neill. Henceforth, the editorial staff were exclusively women. This stood in marked contrast to the contributors who were predominantly men.

In name at least, Mrs. Ensor continued as editor throughout the 1930's. She was assisted by Dorothy Halbach and Muriel MacKenzie from 1930-1933 and Dorothy Halbach, Anne Pedler and Dr. Peggy Volkov from 1933-'36. Unfortunately, no information is available about the staff's occupational background. In the mid-Thirties, Mrs. Ensor was forced to return to South Africa to manage her husband's estate. It was Mrs. Ensor's intention to continue planning the issues, but to leave the routine production work to headquarters (Mrs. Ensor 1935 Nov:251). However, Mrs. Ensor was forced to delegate much of the editorial responsibility to Dr. Volkov. Her position was finally ratified in July 1945, when she officially joined the staff on a part-time paid contract as editorial Secretary (Report 1945, WEF Archives I 35).

It is surprising that The New Era carried no formal announcement of this change of editorship and, no tribute to Mrs. Ensor. This may have reflected the fact that Mrs. Ensor had not been so closely involved in the magazine since her move to South Africa (1).

Following the reorganization of the administration of the magazine in 1946, Peggy Volkov was assisted by members of the Executive Board of the NEF who lived within easy reach of the London headquarters.

3.4 The Outlook Tower

Most issues of The New Era began with an editorial feature. It was called "The Outlook Tower". This title

suggests quasi-scientific and quasi-religious associations. The latter related to the journal's theosophical origins. Indeed, these editorials were powerfully written and conveyed an almost missionary zeal at times. For example,

> "We have the making of the future; parents and teachers are now guiding the citizens of the next age. Let us realise the greatness of our task and give the children the right kind of education so that through joyous self-discipline and self-development they will be strengthened and inspired to bring about the great changes in the world for which we are longing." (OT 1923 Oct:218)

Similarly another "Outlook Tower" proclaimed the role of the NEF in the "Great New Era Adventure":

> "Members of the Fellowship are in truth giving their support to an organised world movement which allows no barriers to come between those who play so large a part in forming in the young that international understanding necessary for the right approach to international problems of the future." (OT 1930 Apr:42)

Both quotations conveyed a strong sense of mission and commitment on the part of teachers and others who believed in New Education. In short, a commitment to its principles implied almost a religious conviction, a way of life.

The "Outlook Tower" served as an introduction to the articles or the theme of an issue. In addition, it sometimes included a comment on educational affairs, conferences, meetings, government reports, educational experiments and introduced other like-minded magazines. "The Outlook Tower" could vary in length from 2-9 pages but was usually 2-3 pages long. In the 1920's, twenty-four of the editorials were written by the editor, Mrs. Ensor, with the passion and commitment evident in the earlier quotations.

A.S. Neill, as co-editor for the first two years wrote one "Outlook Tower"independently (1920,Jul) and three in conjunction with Mrs. Ensor. Seven were unsigned but were most

likely to have been written by Mrs. Ensor. Two were written by guest editors as an introduction to a special issue - H.C. Dent contributed one to an issue that he arranged on "Teaching of English" (1928, Oct). Harold Rugg, an American professor, contributed another for the issue on "The Changing Curriculum" (1929, Apr.). The majority of editorials in the Thirties, were unsigned (49). These were most likely to have been written by Mrs. Ensor. However, eleven were definitely attributed to Mrs. Ensor in the contents page and a further two, she wrote with Dorothy Halbach, the assistant editor.

Intermittently, from 1935 onwards, an "Editorial Note" would introduce the issue. This was both short and unsigned which suggests that it was not written by Mrs. Ensor. In November 1935, Mrs. Ensor wrote a personal letter to the readership, departing from the standard practice of writing in the third person. She explained that owing to her husband's death, she had gone to live in South Africa, but intended to maintain her editorial responsibilities (Mrs. Ensor 1935, Nov:251). Henceforth, "The Outlook Tower" was sometimes replaced by the "Editorial Note" or, in its place, a special introductory article was contributed by a well-known educator, for example H.G. Stead "What LEA's may expect from the Board of Education" (1937, Sept/Oct) and K.G. Saiyidain, Professor of Education in India, on "The New Education: A Restatement of Ideals" (1937, Nov). In the Forties, the practice of an editorial feature was abandoned altogether.

4. Editorial Policy

From the outset, The New Era disclaimed any editorial policy:

> "Our magazine exists to help forward the movement as a whole and to call to our banner all shades of opinion. The only thing we ask is tolerance for the opinion of others. Therefore every shade of thought will find expression in these pages but will not necessarily represent a policy." (OT 1920, Jul:93)

In practice, of course an editorial policy operated clearly in the selection of articles sympathetic to New Education principles.

Within the context of New Education, the magazine aimed to provide a forum for its different factions without favouring any one approach more than another. The aim was to be versatile in order to apply different methods in terms of their suitability for local/national conditions (OT 1921, Oct:219). In fact, it was clear that some methods found greater favour than others. For example, Mrs. Ensor did not especially approve of Montessori methods because she felt "the didactic apparatus is not at all creative" (Ensor, in interview with Sinha, 1971 Appendix I:313). In contrast, art education, through the work of such renowned art educators as Cizek, Bakule, Freinet (2) and others was given considerable coverage in the magazine because it emphasised conditions of freedom for creativity and self-expression. Nevertheless, in an attempt to unite New Educators, differences with the Montessorians were kept to a minimum.

Mrs. Ensor constantly stressed the importance of philosophy over method and her chief ambition for the NEF in this period was as integrator of New Education:

> "The Fellowship has never been creative in as much as it never started a technique of its own in education. What it did was to collate and spread these methods and to test and modify them. The chief thing the Fellowship did was to form a movement which brought together those with a newer and different approach to education." (Ensor, Sinha 1971, Appendix 1:314)

This quotation identifies the field-creating mission of the NEF. The editorial policy which emerged in the 1930's emphasised the philosophy of holism. It implied a belief in the study of the whole child as the basis for social change through education. This view was expressed in the first editorial of the new monthly edition:

> "As educators we need vision. We are not concerned merely with the children in our own home or in our own school,

> and we must not be content to grapple with the problems that concern one type of school, one class, one nation only. Our vision must embrace the whole child in all aspects of his growth; we must understand his physical, his mental, his emotional development from babyhood through the successive stages of childhood and adulthood. It is his right to live fully, to learn from his experience, to grow." (OT 1930 Jul:4)

Indeed, the vision embraced in The New Era depended on the new psychological science of child development (This is discussed more fully in chapters 6 and 7). The acquisition of scientific expertise would ensure, for most children, a "safe passage" through childhood traumas. With knowledge of the norms of physical, mental and emotional growth, the ambition was to achieve it universally. However, ultimately, the responsibility for childhood socialization rested with parents and, to a lesser extent, teachers. The editorials urgently stressed the importance of parent education. For example, one "Outlook Tower", claimed that the editorial policy of "the whole child in a whole world" appealed only to enlightened parents and educators (OT 1932 Jun:166). In this approach, the moral message of parental responsibility was powerfully reinforced.

In the 1940's, in the context of the Second World War, The New Era planned for the defence of democracy. The magazine adopted a practical approach to war-related problems, collating information and securing the advice of experts on a range of issues. In particular, the journal addressed the crisis in familial relations induced by wartime separations. For the duration of the war, the journal was more teacher-directed. There was a fundamental concern to develop strategies for fostering peace through education and planning for the reconstruction of democratic nations.

In the post-war period, in an atmosphere of educational reorganization and expansion, the editorial policy changed. At the same time, the administration of the journal changed and Dr. Volkov was officially recognised as the editor. In the 1948 Annual Report of the NEF, the following comment was made

on the magazine's progress:

> "The New Era has another year's useful work behind it. We published one issue on "Children's communities" for UNESCO (Sept/Oct) and two for the English Section on "New Techniques in Teacher Training" and on "Activity Methods in the Junior and Secondary Modern Schools". We invited our national sections all over the world to use the magazine - by compiling special numbers if they wished - to make known some of the more experimental and forward-looking work being done in their own countries. We much look forward to publishing a special number from India in July 1949 and hope that other sections will follow suit."(Report 1948, WEF Archives I:35)

This statement demonstrates the changing emphasis of the magazine evident from the early Forties onwards, to develop a comparative educational focus. Dr. Lauwerys from the University of London, Institute of Education, had been a prime motivating force for this shift. The internationalist ethos supplied the dominant rationale in a new expansion of the journal's original objective, to promote International Education.

By the 1950's, it seemed that The New Era no longer attracted the notable pioneers of New Education and its related perspectives. There were no articles by educational celebrities, psychologists, psychoanalysts and philosophers. In fact, The New Era was no longer the forum for the expression of new ideas. It had lost its sense of urgency and its world-transformatory mission.

This impression is established by an overview of authors and contents in the Fifties. Sinha (1971) reinforces this:

> "Reading the contributions to The New Era since the war, the present writer has been struck most forcibly by the list of references at the end of the articles, where at one time it was the originator of the idea who made a contribution now it is more often a follower who submits articles to the editor. Maybe, of course, Eileen Churchill was correct when she said that the age of the great artist teachers is over, but certainly if the times have produced new great innovators they no longer use the Fellowship as the platform through which to present their ideas." (Sinha 1971:31)

Certainly the educational field had been more securely established by the late 1940's, with more appropriate state institutions and agencies and the proliferation of new specialised academic journals available to generate new ideas and perspectives. The earlier community of isolated pioneers had disappeared with its need for the NEF to establish educators credentials. As a consequence, the journal took a more mundane direction in subsequent years, stimulating and valuable but no longer breaking new ground.

4.1 Political Complexion

Throughout the 1920's, The New Era maintained its apolitical posture. Indeed, the universalist values of New Education,based as they were on "the needs of the child", precluded any theorisation of the relationship between education and society. By the 1930's, this position was less tenable.

At the beginning of 1931, an editorial attempted to assess the role of education in social change:

> "Undoubtedly education is the most potent force in the promotion of social evolution. Within it lie possibilities of safety or of danger - hope or of fear, the greatest achievements of civilization or destruction. The danger has already shown itself in countries where educational systems have been created with the express purpose of inflating nationalism. And it is showing itself again today in the form of violent propaganda. Not alone can the outlook of a nation be changed in the generation by education, but its whole nature, apparently be transformed." (1931 Jan:1/2)

The problem was that New Education methods had been embraced by totalitarian regimes in Italy and Germany to impose a completely different set of values than those envisaged. The NEF did not oppose fascism with any conviction until the mid-Thirties. This was partly owing to internal dissension within the NEF about how it should respond to fascism (see Chapter 2).

Some of the early reluctance to condemn fascism was based on an understanding of dictatorships as "the blind offshoot of the tree of evolution" (OT 1936 Dec:292). Founded on theosophical understandings of the evolutionary process, extreme nationalism was identified as a necessary stage in the progression towards world unity and Internationalism. By the mid-Thirties, following the Cheltenham Conference where the threat of fascism was fully recognised, The New Era became more outspoken in its attack. In the face of dictatorship, it was considered to be the NEF's duty to take practical steps to clear the way for a "free society". It was important to maintain faith in this aspiration without allowing fear of totalitarianism to stand in the way of achieving such freedom (OT 1936, Dec:292).

The political position expressed in the editorials was of a "mountain-top point of view", with the objective:

> "... to overlook the dark valleys of prejudice, class hatred, war, jealousy and ignorance, to try to hold the vision of the ultimate values in education." (OT 1931 Jan:1)

The idea of using education for indoctrination was strongly criticised as interference with its "natural" course: "We have no right to tamper with the natural development of life, or to divert its direction in order to play off our own twisted policies and politics" (ibid:2). New Education's centre of gravity was the individual child, whose needs could be established by the science of child development and not clouded by class factors.

New Education started from the following premise:

> "If the same conditions of environment and the same stimuli, allowing for national differences in social background, were provided for children everywhere, it should be possible to have a type of citizen who would be socially adjusted not only to his own group but also to the larger world group. Such a citizen would arbitrate, compromise and co-operate, and would take care that the government of his country did likewise." (ibid:2)

There was an absolute refusal to recognise the inequalities of class and its determining influence on children's needs. From the "mountain-top" perspective "we cannot recognise social distinction as between children" (ibid:3), therefore , as a deliberate policy, references to class distinctions were excluded from the series of articles planned for that year (ibid). However, this logic gave rise to accusations of naive idealism and increasingly, the "mountain-top" view represented a minority position. It was totally opposed by the new leadership within the NEF in the mid-Thirties. They proposed instead a more realistic analysis that recognised, as their starting point, existing social conditions.

The philosophy of holism was gradually discarded. Nevertheless, the emphasis on individual development was maintained but it began to incorporate a view of the individual in the context of the community. This social individualism tended to undermine the potential for any analysis of class or national differences. The vision which was sustained in the Forties, was one of education shaping individual development in its function as the bearer of the new collective conscience.

5. Conclusion

The New Era represented the official organ of the NEF for its English-speaking audience. This chapter identifies the ways in which the journal's mission, policy and administration were interwoven to promote the main objectives of the Fellowship. Over the thirty year period, no clear pattern can be established in the relationship between the Executive committee of the NEF and editorial policy. The executive was internationally dispersed whereas the journal was based at the London headquarters. However, it seems likely that the shift on political orientation from the mid-Thirties onwards may have been a direct response to pressure from the new leadership within the executive committee.

In Chapter 2, it was evident that women played a minority role on the executive committee. In contrast, women were closely involved in the administration of The New Era. The journal was inspired by Mrs. Ensor, who was able to launch the journal privately with the financial backing of two wealthy women theosophists. Moreover, Mrs. Ensor edited the journal until the mid-Thirties, with the help of an almost exclusively female editorial staff. Thus women played a vital role in the production of The New Era.

The journal was essential as the main channel of communication of New Education. The evidence in this chapter demonstrates that educationists, students of education, teachers and parents were the main receivers of its pedagogic messages. This implies that The New Era was at least, partially successful in reaching its target audience although clearly, it did not achieve the circulation figures to which it aspired.

Footnotes. Chapter 3

1. In spite of archival records of friendly and maintained correspondence between Mrs. Ensor and the NEF staff, there was no obituary when she died in 1972. This contrasted with the earlier deaths of prominent New Educators whose obituaries were written up in the journal. There seems to be no reasonable explanation for the absence of an obituary to Mrs. Ensor nor any plausible excuse.

2. Celestin Freinet was French. Through his teaching he aimed to create a closer relationship between school and life. He introduced a printing press into his classroom in order to record daily activities and provide a text as the daily "centre of interest". The children were able to produce their "Book of Life". When other teachers began to adopt the printing method, Freinet introduced first, a national system of exchange between schools and later, a Modern People's School (Boyd and Rawson 1965:45). Freinet was one of a number of artist educators who sought conditions for creative self-expression among children. However, Freinet was also a communist and described as a "revolutionary educator and educational revolutionary" (ibid:44). According to Sinha (1971), Mrs. Ensor welcomed him as a member and took pains to accommodate him within the Fellowship as part of the attempts to create a broad base for the movement.

CHAPTER 4

THEMES AND FEATURES

1. Introduction

The chapter offers a complementary analysis to the previous chapter which assessed the institutional arrangements of the journal. The aim of this chapter is to examine the themes and features of The New Era to establish its main areas of concern and further to illuminate both its editorial policy and target audience. The thematic analysis identifies the major foci of the journal to gain a preliminary overview of the content of New Education discourse.

The features of the journal also provide important information about the NEF and its discourse. The "International Notes" will be examined to find out whether the journal reflected the NEF's internationalist ethos. The "Questions and answers" and "letters to the editor" were both sporadic features that give some indication of the readers' responses to New Education and of editorial policy. The section "Parents and Children" was included as evidence of the significance The New Era attached to the family in the Thirties. It was a single initiative aimed specifically at parents in an attempt to foster child study. The book reviews and advertisements identify the ways in which New Education was packaged and disseminated to a wider audience. The analysis of both reveals further information about the journal's target audience.

2. Thematic Analysis

The journal was essentially article-based, but from 1927 onwards, the majority of the issues were organised around a theme. An analysis of the thematic content was undertaken using the following categories:

New Education. This category includes issues related to anti-authoritarian pedagogies and the promotion of freedom in

education as well as new pedagogic practices which expressed these principles.

New Psychology/psychoanalysis. New Psychology is an amalgam of psychological disciplines which reflect anti-authoritarian principles and the freedom of the individual, ranging from delinquency to child development.

Teacher

Curriculum

World Education

The War

These categories were not mutually exclusive. New Education was the over-arching discipline as well as a separate category. Some themes were classified under more than one heading. For example, "The Changing Discipline in Home and School" was classified as both New Education and New Psychology/ Psychoanalysis. The classification of issues is set out in Appendix 3 and the results are summarised in Table 1 below. Owing to changes in the periodicity of the journal, switching from a quarterly to a monthly edition, the following analysis will be based on percentage figures rather than absolute totals.

Table 1: Thematic Analysis

	1920's		1930's		1940's		Grand
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
New Education	6	22	15	25	5	10	26
New Psychology/ Psychoanalysis	5	19	10	17	20	41	35
Teachers	1	3	4	7	5	10	10
Curriculum	7	7	20	33	2	4	29
World Education	8	26	6	10	8	16	22
The War	-	-	5	8	9	18	14
TOTALS	27	100	60	100	49	100	136

The thematic analysis identified the dominant themes both within and between periods. In the 1920's, world education was the major theme, demonstrating the journal's internationalist concern. The curriculum ranked second, divided equally between subject teaching and theoretical aspects of the curriculum such as "Examinations" (1925, Jan) or "Individual Psychology and the Curriculum" (1929, Oct). New Education and New Psychology/ psychoanalysis ranked third and fourth respectively. Only one issue was devoted to teachers.

In the Thirties, curriculum clearly was the major theme and was more orientated towards subjects, especially the arts. Less attention was given to world education which ranked fourth. New Education and New Psychology/ psychoanalysis ranked second and third. More issues were devoted to teachers (7%) in this period but it continued to occupy the lowest rank position. The war, first introduced as a category at the end of this period, ranked fifth.

New Psychology/psychoanalysis provided the major theme in the Forties. Most of the issues focused on interpersonal relationships, especially between parents and children. The war ranked second which reflected that it was a major preoccupation of the journal. World education regained some of its earlier importance and occupied third rank. New Education and teachers shared fourth place. Both New Education and curriculum dropped substantially in this period.

Across the three periods the four main themes were curriculum, New Education, New Psychology/psychoanalysis and world education. The dominance of the curriculum confirmed its centrality to New Education. It offered the greatest potential for the practical application of New Education principles. The importance of New Psychology/psychoanalysis peaked in the Forties when it accounted for 26% of the themes. Many of the themes demonstrated the interconnection between New Education and the psychological perspectives. For example, "Co-Education" (1931, May and 1937, Apr), "The Psychologist and

the School" (1938, Jul/Aug and Sept/Oct) and "Attitudes in School and College" (1949, Sep).

The thematic analysis provides a preliminary overview of the journal's content. This will be investigated more extensively in the content analysis of articles in Chapter 6.

3. International Notes

In the first "Outlook Tower", The New Era's commitment to international education was clearly stated (OT 1920 Jan:3/4). The "International Notes" section appeared regularly for most of the thirty-year period. It was compiled from news and information supplied to International Headquarters from the member countries. It represented an important aspect of the reciprocal commitment of national sections to the international exchange of information.

An analysis of the "International Notes" has been conducted to discover which countries contributed to them and the extent of their participation. The results have been set out in Appendix 4 to show the distribution of international notes in different countries. Table 2 below summarises the distribution of international notes in the major blocs of countries across the three decades. Canada was the only country which was classified twice, as a Commonwealth country and as one of the Americas.

Table 2: Distribution of International Notes

	1920's Total	%	1930's Total	%	1940's Total	%	TOTAL Total	%
Europe	62	56	236	61	63	57	361	60
Eastern Europe	8	7	16	4	7	6	39	6
The Far East	1	1	6	2	1	1	8	1
The Commonwealth	16	14	66	17	18	17	100	16
The Americas	19	17	50	13	18	17	87	14
Scandinavia	6	5	10	3	2	2	18	3
TOTAL	112	100	384	100	109	100	613	100

The distribution of the "International Notes" was similar in each period and was predominantly Eurocentric. The European sections contributed more than 50% of the Notes in every decade. The American section ranked second in the Twenties and Forties and third in the Thirties. In this period, the Commonwealth nations ranked second and reflected the WEF's concern to forge strong connections with these countries. The Fellowship started new sections, organised a visit to the Commonwealth by prominent New Educators and arranged conferences in these countries. In this respect, the "Notes" were sensitive to political changes. With the ending of the formal political subordination of the Commonwealth to England, the Fellowship was anxious to construct an educational consensus with its Commonwealth sections. In the Forties, the proportion of Notes from the Commonwealth sections remained the same as the Thirties, implying that the educational connections had been successfully maintained.

The analysis of the "International Notes" confirms the journal's commitment to international education through the worldwide exchange of information about New Education. They

further reflect the scope of NEF activities across an international network of member sections. The New Era served as the conduit for the reciprocal concern of the international membership to keep others informed about their activities.

4. Questions and Answers

The first editorial made a special appeal to teachers to "take advantage" of the "Questions and Answers" section (OT 1920 Jan:4). This section featured in only 5 issues in the Twenties, from 1920-21, when 10 questions were raised. In the new monthly format in the Thirties, a section headed "Questions from Parents and Teachers" appeared regularly for a year, from July 1930 to April 1931 (excluding March 1931).

The introduction to this section invited both parents and teachers to ask questions about "situations with which they feel they cannot adequately deal" (1930, Jul:26). Where necessary, the question would be answered by experts in the field of child study and adolescence. An administrative charge of 1 shilling was proposed for this service. In the Thirties, the questions were briefly summarised and unsigned. However, it was usually possible to ascertain from the question whether it had been posed by a parent or teacher. In this period, 36 questions were published. The results have been summarised in tables 2 and 3.

An analysis of the 10 questions posed in the Twenties, revealed that at least 5 had been raised by teachers. From either the information provided about the questions, or the nature of the questions, it was evident that 4 had been written by women teachers, for example, "How would you stimulate independent study in a girl's elementary school?" (1920, Jul:75). Only 1 of these questions provided no evidence of the gender of its authorship. It was a general question on history teaching (1920, Jan:29).

The teachers' questions related to subject teaching (2), teaching methods (2) and the fifth, to a matter of discipline. A headmistress sought advice on how to deal with a thirteen year old girl caught stealing (1921, Apr:158). A further 3 questions may have been raised by teachers but they were too general to give a clear indication of authorship. Of those, 2 asked for references, one on the psychological study of the unconscious mind (1920, Jul:75) and the other on crowd psychology (1921, Jul:198). It is more likely that these were raised by teachers rather than parents given the magazine's appeal to teachers to be better informed about the New Psychology. Similarly, the third, signed 'Percy', was a cryptic question "When should I prune trees" (1921, Jul:198).

Parents raised 2 questions, both relating to discipline. A mother wrote that her son was to be expelled from a day school for boisterous, anti-social behaviour because the head felt that he/she could not "sacrifice the many to the one". The mother wanted to know whether the head's attitude was right or wrong (1921, Jul:198). The second letter from a parent was initialled, suggesting in the more masculine form of address, that a father may have written it. The letter complained about the son's education at a free school. "The result seems to be that at the age of fourteen he knows nothing and hates any sort of work" (1921, Apr:156). The letter concluded that the old system of education seemed to be better. It was surprising that this letter was printed at all, but it served the purpose of criticising the unenlightened parent and the dangers of the old education system.

Most of the answers were likely to have been written by the editors. On one occasion, where Beatrice Ensor and A.S. Neill disagreed in their response to the parent's questions about the head's attitude towards her son, two replies were given and initialled. A.S. Neill gave his opinion that the teacher who expelled a child was simply a bad teacher: "His duty is to diagnose the trouble, and then put the lad on his own natural line of development" (ASN 1921, Jul:178). On the

other hand, Mrs Ensor was inclined to agree that "the many should not be sacrificed to the one" and that it was better that the parents tried to find a more suitable school, where the son fitted in (B.E. 1921, Jul:198). There were different respondents for 2 of the teacher questions, one signed E.T. and the other, Mary Kings. Both were presumably teachers, because they offered advice on aspects of teaching.

The replies to teachers were practical and encouraging, even inspiring. For example, the headmistress, anxious to introduce new methods, was given practical guidance. However, she was told that ultimately, she should continue to "dream dreams, ... and to materialise these in forms which her colleagues will consider beautiful" (1920, Jan:29). The reply to the headmistress who needed advice on how to stop a girl stealing was immediately to stop punishing her. Instead, "The best thing the teacher can do is to give the child her love, and thus evoke love and trust" (1921, Apr:158).

However, a highly critical attitude was taken to the parent who preferred the old system of education. There was no division of opinion in the reply which sounded full of righteous indignation:

> "It appears to us that you, A.P.M. are in more need of analysis than your son ... The boy who cannot work at school unless under orders is almost certainly suffering from a Peter Pannish attitude to his mother, and a masochistic attitude to his father. The school often gets the blame when the damage was done before the child left the nursery." (1921, Apr:158)

In the Thirties, when the section was headed "Questions from Parents and Teachers", there was a more encouraging response from parents. At least 25 questions were sent by parents, in contrast to only 2 in the Twenties, when there was no explicit appeal to them and this period when questions were summarised it was less easy to establish the gender identity of the parent. However, 3 were definitely sent by fathers and 2 by mothers. Of the remainder (20), the majority were likely

to have been sent by mothers because they mostly related to aspects of the child's behaviour and routine (12) or discipline (6). For example, "Why does he call out at night?" or "He is 6 and flies into a violent temper when he is thwarted. What ought I to do?" (1930, Jul:26).

The teachers sent 9 questions, just one-quarter of the Thirties' total as compared with more than half in the Twenties. In this period, more of the teacher questions related to matters of discipline (4) for example, "refusal to obey school routine" (1930, Aug:60) or behaviour (3) such as how to deal with a child "persistently interfering with other children" (1930, Sep:94). Only 2 questions were concerned with teaching methods. Finally, 2 questions were more general and could have been sent by either a parent or a teacher. The first requested advice about a boy who showed no interest in his toys unless the mother manipulated them (1930, Dec:195). It was not clear whether the mother or a nursery teacher had asked the question. The second, was how to teach children respect for other people's possessions (1931, Apr:142).

The answers were supplied by a number of experts at the request of the editors. Each answer was signed with the name and occupational position of the expert; only 3 were unsigned. Most of the questions relating to behaviour (15) or discipline (10) were answered by either a psychologist (15) or a psychoanalyst (6). The psychologist for Frensham Heights school, Miss E. Mildred Nevill, replied to 9 questions such as, advising a mother how to cope with her son's temper tantrums by remaining calm, refusing to make an issue of the situation and attempting to avoid situations which aroused his temper until the habit was broken (1930, Jul:26). Miss Nevill advised another mother to seek expert guidance for her daughter, aged 10, who preferred solitary play and did not mix with her classmates (1930, Oct:127).

Dr Margaret Lowenfeld, Honorary Medical Director of The Children's Clinic, London, answered 5 questions from a

psychoanalytical perspective. These questions, mainly addressed behaviourial problems. She offered explanations of one child's refusal to eat (1930, Jul:26), why another called out at night (ibid) or why a child tells lies (1930, Aug:60). A series of 5 questions about play and developmental aspects of children's toys were answered by the Child Study Association of America (1930, Dec:195/6).

Teachers supplied answers to one-quarter of the questions (9) but did not confine themselves to teachers' questions. For example, Margaret Lee, Principal of Wynchwood School for Girls, answered 4 questions from teachers and parents about aspects of boarding school life (1931, Feb:71) while Miss Tudor-Hart, in charge of The Children's Group Nursery School offered advice about behaviour in school (1930, Aug:60, 1930, Sep:94).

The "questions and answers" section made two appearances, first in 1920-'21 and again in 1930-'31. It was not explained why this section did not become a regular feature. This may have been owing either to a lack of response or an endless repetition of the same themes. Table 3 shows the distribution of contents of the questions and table 4, the authors of questions in the 1920's and 1930's. No adjustment has been made for the 1930's because the feature was so irregular.

Table 3: Content of Questions

	1920's	1930's	TOTAL
Subject Teaching	2	0	2
Teaching Methods	2	2	4
Behaviour	0	17	17
Discipline	3	7	10
Other	3	10	13
TOTAL	10	36	46

Table 4: Authors of Questions

	1920's			1930's				Grand
	M	F	NGS*	TOTAL	M	F	NGS	Total	Total
Teacher	4	1		5			9	9	14
Parent	1	1		2	2	3	20	25	27
Other			3	3			2	2	5
TOTAL			5	5	10	2	3	31	36

* NGS means non gender specific

The nature of the questions, especially in the Thirties, revealed a major preoccupation with aspects of behaviour and discipline. Overall, 17 questions pertained to aspects of behaviour and 10 to discipline. In particular, they concentrated on problems with specific children with only 4 of these questions, from a total of 30, couched in general terms. In contrast, 6 questions (4 in the Twenties, and 2 in the Thirties) related to teaching.

In the Twenties, the number of questions is very small. It was more teacher-directed when teachers were invited to propose questions. Teachers asked at least 5, and possibly 8, out of the 10 questions raised in this period. In the Thirties, they raised 9. Parents asked only 2 questions in the Twenties, but were more directly included in the Thirties with the change of heading to "Questions from Parents and Teachers". In this period, they raised almost three-quarters of the questions (25).

The analysis of the "questions and answers" provided important insights. Firstly, as time passed, the major preoccupation of teachers with New Education related to behaviourial aspects rather than teaching methods. Inevitably these reflected the significance of the changes required by New

Education in the teacher-child relationship. The letters from teachers provided ample testimony to their willingness to adopt New Education principles. The parental input reflected a similar preoccupation with children's behaviour. In many ways, their letters revealed a greater reluctance to experiment with, or be convinced by New Education. Understandably, the risks involved were greater for parents. Nevertheless, the contributions from parents, especially in the Thirties, provide important and direct confirmation that the journal incorporated parent readers.

5. Letters to the Editor

This feature appeared sporadically. In the Twenties, 3 letters only were published. This increased in the Thirties to 33 and 31 in the Forties. However, in the latter periods the journal appeared monthly and thus any comparison of the absolute figures must be treated with caution. Unfortunately, there was no information about the total number of letters received by the editor nor the criteria for selection and publication. However, it seems unlikely that those finally printed, represented the total correspondence between the readership and the editor. Thus the letters further illuminate the journal's editorial policy.

The 67 letters have been analysed in terms of both authorship and content. All the letters were either initialled or signed. In addition, some helpfully included the author's occupation, while the professional identity of others could be discerned from the content of the letter. Over the thirty-year period, the occupations of 8 correspondents were unidentifiable. The author analysis also incorporated the gender distribution of correspondents but, in 11 letters, the use of initials precluded gender identification. These were classified as non-gender-specific (NGS). The results of the author analysis are drawn up in table 5. The category of culturalists incorporates those working in the creative professions such as artists, actors, etc. The figures in table

5 have not been adjusted to take into account the transition from a quarterly to a monthly edition because the letters feature appeared irregularly. Thus the analysis considers trends within periods and does not compare absolute totals across periods.

Table 5: Occupational and Gender Distribution of Correspondents

	1920's				1930's				1940's				Gr.
	M	F	NGS	Tot	M	F	NGS	Tot	M	F	NGS	Tot	Tot
Teacher	1		1	2	6	7	1	14	3	2		5	21
University Lecturer					1			1	3	3		6	7
Psychiatric Worker										3		3	3
Psychologist									1			1	1
Teacher Trainer	1			1		2		2	1	4		5	8
Educational Administrators					1		1	2	1			1	3
Culturalist					1	1		2	1			1	3
Other					3	3		6		2	1	3	9
Social Worker										1		1	1
Parent						1		1		2		2	3
Occupation Unspecified						1	4	5		2	1	3	8
TOTAL	2		1	3	12	15	6	33	10	19	2	31	67

Table 5 demonstrates that, in the Twenties, 2 out of the 3 letters were written by teachers. The third, was written by the Director of the Montessori Training School in London. The Thirties was the most active period of correspondence when almost half (14) of the letters came from teachers. The

occupational spread for the remainder of letters was wide. They were sent by a university lecturer, teacher trainers (2), administrators (2), culturalists (2), a parent and others (6). It was impossible to establish the author's occupation of 5 letters. In the Forties, the authorship was more diversified without the major concentration of correspondence from teachers which characterised the Thirties. University lecturers sent the most letters (6) followed closely by teacher trainers (5) and teachers (5). For the first time, psychoanalysts (3), a psychologist and a social worker ranked among the correspondents. The parental input increased slightly from 1 to 2 letters and that of culturalists (1) and others (3) declined. In 3 letters, the professional status was not established.

The gender distribution was established for 2 of the 3 letters in the Twenties. One of the teachers and the Director of the Montessori Training School were both male. In the Thirties, the gender identity was established for 27 letters. More than half (15) were sent by women, of whom approximately half (7) were teachers. Both teacher trainer letters were from women, while half of the culturalists and others were sent by women. In the Forties, the number of women correspondents (19) represented two-thirds of the gender attributed letters (29). In contrast, men contributed 10 letters, mainly from teachers (3) and university lecturers (3). The decline in the number of letters sent by male authors just under one-half to one-third in the Forties, was partly a consequence of the War.

The author analysis of the correspondence confirmed the emerging pattern of the Twenties. This was of a major involvement of teachers in the issues raised in The New Era. Over the thirty-year span, they contributed almost one-third of the correspondence. Overall, the letters represented a dominant educational orientation with teachers, university lecturers, teacher trainers and administrators sending more than half (39) of the letters. The psychoanalytic workers and particularly the psychologists played a very minor role in the

correspondence. They contributed only 4 letters, all of which appeared in the Forties. Interestingly, culturalists (3) and others (9) contributed one-sixth of the letters suggesting that the magazine successfully incorporated a wider readership than just the educative professions.

Parents sent a total of 3 letters only. This was in contrast to their much more extensive use of the question and answer service. It seems to suggest that parents were less confident about criticising articles, and only 1 letter commented on an article. This article was about the parent-teacher relationship (Mrs. Gibbs 1947, May:126). The low participation of parents in the correspondence, confirmed an earlier impression that parents were constructed as a target audience for the magazine, rather than actively engaging with, or constructing its discourse.

The content analysis focused upon two aspects of the letters. Firstly, it identified several different objectives of the letter; whether it was written in response to an article, issue or review; whether it posed general comment on the journal; whether it made an appeal, or gave news. The second aspect was the subject matter of the letter.

Table 6: Objectives of the Letters

	1920's	1930's	1940's	TOTAL
Response to an article	1	16	13	30
Response to an issue	-	-	3	3
Response to a review	-	-	1	1
Comment on the journal	2	-	-	2
Appeals	-	1	4	5
News/Comment	-	16	10	26
TOTAL	3	33	31	67

Table 6 demonstrates that approximately half of the letters were written in response to an article or special issue. In some cases, a letter about an article would generate a dialogue with the author responding. For example, in the Thirties, an article on the childhood of religion generated 3 letters. One of these was from a minister on the solutions propounded by the Christian Church, upon which the author of the article was asked to respond. (Smith, C and Rawson, W. 1936 Jul/Aug:218/9)

Similarly, in the Forties, an issue on Teacher Training generated 2 letters, one by Beatrice King, a university lecturer and the other by Florence Johnson, Principal of St. Gabriel's College (King, B. & Johnson, 1940, Nov:242/3). In the next issue, one of the authors of that teacher training issue, Catherine Fletcher, lecturer at the Training College, Bugley, replied to the letters, which she felt had not sufficiently grasped her ideas (Fletcher, C. 1940, Dec:261). In the next issue, Beatrice King further commented on Ms Fletcher's reply (King, B. 1941 Jan:23). Occasionally, letters were written to appeal for support for a school, club or hostel (Lester, D. 1940 Feb:52) or help for refugees (Basque Children's Committee 1940 May:135). In such appeals, the NEF adopted a more political stance in support of children's welfare. However, more frequently, appeals were made in either the editorial or "Fellowship notes" rather than in the letters section.

More than one-third of the letters contained news, especially pertaining to the war. The "Fellowship News" section in the September/October issue of 1939 appealed for readers to send in the comments on how they were coping with war-related problems (Fellowship News 1931 Sept/Oct:239). In the same issue, and three subsequent issues (November and December 1939 and February, 1940), the letters feature was headed "Points from letters" in which extracts of different experiences of the war were collated. The first extracts of "Points from letters had a postscript attached from the editor:

"This copy of <u>The New Era</u> has been collated from

> contributors who might well have pleaded they were too busy to write. It contains accounts of people (quietly) doing things that might have seemed too difficult to undertake, and one or two constructive assessments of a state of affairs that might have seemed too bewildering to admit of assessment.
>
> It also contains much material for anxious thought and prompt and strenuous action ...
>
> We have now a very difficult and unusual chance of doing more for children than we have ever dreamed of doing before ...." (Ed 1939 Sep/Oct:243)

These letters conveyed anxieties and frustrations as well as ideas and solutions. They furnished the editor with an opportunity to respond to issues and problems experienced by the readership. The New Era draw upon a wide range of expertise in subsequent issues to offer advice and discuss the host of problems raised by the readers. It provided an opportunity for dialogue and represented a period of close interaction between the journal and its readership.

The content analysis revealed a wide range of subject matter shown in table 7 below.

The war constituted the major theme, accounting for almost one-half of the letters in the Thirties and, just under one-third overall. New Education was the second dominant theme, including accounts of experimental schools for example, Forest School (Wisdom 1938 Mar:87) or teaching methods (Yeo, M 1936 Mar:86). One of the letters in the Twenties was critical of The New Era as too extreme for teachers. The teacher critic claimed that the perspective of teachers differed from that of the editorial chair, where children were viewed as saints. The duty of the teacher, in contrast to editorial dictate, was to teach children right and wrong (1921 Jul:216).

Table 7: Content Analysis of the Letters

	1920's	1930's	1940's	TOTAL
New Education, experiments, methods	1	4	5	10
Nursery education	-	3	-	3
Teacher Training	-	-	7	7
Curriculum	1	-	-	1
Religion	-	3	-	3
Politics/Democracy	-	3	4	7
Psychoanalysis	1	1	-	2
Delinquency	-	-	4	4
Parent-Teacher Relationship	-	-	3	3
War	-	16	4	20
Appeals	-	1	4	5
Other	-	2	-	2
TOTAL	3	33	31	67

This letter evoked a rare editorial response. A.S. Neill abhorred the moralist perspective of the teacher and claimed that, in the contemporary world, teachers had forfeited any claim to guiding children's morals. He felt that the problem of education consisted in getting rid of "morality from without" (A.S. Neill, ibid). In general, the letters reflected rather than digressed from editorial policy or a New Education perspective.

The letters grouped under the broad heading of politics mostly related to the promotion of democratic values through education, with varying degrees of moderation or radicalism. The most radical letter was sent in by Miss Beatrix Tudor-Hart,

on behalf of a group of socialist teachers. They proposed that a socialist school be established as an appropriate medium for the expression of progressive, New Education principles. The letter launched an appeal for support and funds to start such a school (Tudor-Hart 1935 Nov:283). However, there was no further mention of the school and it seems unlikely that it gained the support of the readership given the mainly anti-socialist tendency of the NEF. The editorial comment hardly encouraged support for the scheme:

> "We have repeatedly made it clear that we consider that indoctrination is not a suitable educational technique for the future citizens of a democracy. We are happy. however, to publish the above as an honest statement of the opposite view." (Ed. ibid)

This quotation reflects the politically naive editorial policy which failed adequately to address the relationship between education and politics. Throughout the Thirties and Forties, The New Era endorsed social reconstruction through education. Whereas education for democracy was acceptable, political indoctrination was not. Yet the boundaries between political education and indoctrination were never articulated.

Some of the letters under politics provided insightful comments on the magazine's conception of democracy. Mr. Hickson, a headmaster, reflecting on an issue devoted to Co-education, expressed his concern that equality within the family was also essential. He commented that in the articles of that issue, "the new position of cooperative equality - between husband and wife in the modern family - were hardly mentioned" (Hickson, A. 1937, Jun:171). This was typical of many of the articles in The New Era, which considered the family as the stable cornerstone of democracy and yet failed to address the inequalities that existed in relations between parents.

In another letter, Brian Simon, a university lecturer and later the renowned socialist historian of education, criticised the number of articles in the magazine which preached a

doctrine of despair and the collapse of civilization. In particular, he directed his attacks on an article by Mr. Channing-Pearce. The latter proposed an alternative solution in "oasis schools - to recreate social and cultural values - based on Koestler's philosophy". A more sensible attitude was, according to Simon, for intellectuals to ground their approach in objective reality and human needs. Simon argues:

> "It remains to establish the peace and that is not proving easy. But democracy has gained a new content in the struggle that has taken place. The peoples have a new conception of friendship, of mutual interdependence and of the value of culture forged in common suffering, sacrifices and stoicism. Intellectuals worthy of the name have taken an active part and gained thereby. But there are a few who have collapsed under the strain and now mistake their own collapse for the collapse of civilization, let us relegate them to their proper place.
>
> Let us for our part base ourselves on the people's needs and aspirations and set out to serve the people ...." (Simon 1946 Jul:178)

In this, Simon united an idealist vision with a pragmatic approach. As a first step, he approved the efforts of the English Section of the NEF. The ENEF had prepared a statement for the Central Advisory Council for education on the lack of a functional relationship between school and society. Simon suggested that this should be the basis for discussion in local schools, followed by action (ibid).

The letters had, potentially, a wider sphere of influence. For example, in March 1943, Melitta Schmideberg, the daughter of Melanie Klein, advocated a psychoanalytical approach to delinquency (Schmideberg 1943 Mar:47). The letter prompted Dr. Winnicott to publish an article on delinquency research (footnote, Schmideberg 1943 Jun:105). Schmideberg's second letter was a retroactive response to Winnicott in which she criticised his disinclination to treat delinquents with psychoanalysis (Schmideberg 1943 Jun:105). A further letter, in the subsequent issue, from a psychiatrist at the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency, supported

Schmideberg in her opposition to certain aspects of Winnicott's argument (Marjorie Franklin 1943 Jul/Aug:138) The correspondence had inspired a renewed concern with delinquency research.

More often, an interesting letter would generate further correspondence. One mother wrote that she felt increasingly antagonistic towards the teaching profession when schools were always praised and the home always to blame (Gibbs 1947 May:126). In the next issue, 2 letters were printed in response to Mrs. Gibbs' complaint. One, from the Chairman of the Parents' Guild, urged her to join a local parent's association (Langford, 1947 Jun:160). The other was from George Lyward, Chairman of the Home and School Council. He wrote persuasively about "Mother Love" and the essential importance of the parent. He argued that the roles of the parent and teacher were qualitatively different, and that, once Mrs. Gibbs appreciated this difference, she would not begrudge the teachers a share of praise and attention. Mr. Lyward also recommended parent-teacher associations as a means of improving the home-school relationship (Lyward, ibid).

The letter analysis provides an important indication of readers' responses to, and critical engagement with, the magazine. Almost half of the letters were written by the educative professions in response to an article. Some of these letters generated a reciprocal exchange between the author and correspondent, thereby providing the opportunity for dialogue and the development of New Education ideas.

Most letters reflect both a New Education perspective and editorial policy. Where a letter offended such principles, an editorial comment accompanied the letter. The major theme was the war accounting for almost one-third of the letters. Interestingly, these letters were written in response to an editorial request for first-hand experiences of evacuation, billeting and other war-related problems. In return, the magazine mobilised a range of educational experts to write

articles that attempted to explain, or provide solutions to, the problems raised by readers. The letters therefore represented an important medium for the readers to express their opinions about the magazine and for a critical exchange of ideas between authors, editors and readers.

6. "Parents and Children" Section

In June 1932, the "Outlook Tower" announced the first parents' supplement. This was a separate section containing useful material for parents. Its appearance as a supplement was to facilitate its use by parent education and child study groups. It was intended as a regular feature, designed with a view to its use by unsupervised parents' circles. The outline study courses were "organised to allow parents to meet under the leadership of one of their own members to study and discuss some of the problems that confront every parent" (OT 1932, Jun:166). The course was divided into three sections, pre-school, school-age and adolescence. It was composed of articles, interviews and recommended reading. The October issue was the first designed specifically for use in parents' circles as part of an eleven-month course, drawn up by a team of experts.

The consultative committee invited to plan the "Parents and Children" section brought together international experts. It was chaired by Dr. Maria B. Te Water of Pretoria University, South Africa. She was a medical doctor who specialised in pediatrics. The six additional members represented a range of expertise. Dr. William Boyd lectured in education at Glasgow University. He was the only educationist on the committee. Mrs Sidonie M. Gruenberg directed The Child Study Association in America, where parent education was first introduced as a fundamental component of preventive child care. Dr. and Mrs Mitchell ran the Child Guidance Clinic in Montreal and Dr. Moodie, a psychiatrist, was director of the London Child Guidance Clinic. Finally, it included Miss Muriel Payne, who was once a qualified nurse but now organised the Home and

School Council (established by the NEF and described in chapter 2). This impressive array of specialists demonstrated the predominantly psychological/ psychiatric background of the committee.

The function of the committee was to choose the topics for study, commission the contributors and to organise the presentation of material. The committee had complete autonomy. An analysis of the "Parents and Children" section has been conducted on 3 levels. Firstly, an author analysis for the articles and interviews. Secondly, a content analysis, again of the articles and interviews. Thirdly, a content analysis of the book lists. The study covered the "Parents and Children" section from its inception in June 1932, through the study course, which extended beyond its planned 11 issues, to February 1936. The separate supplement stopped in December 1933 but the Parents' section continued until November 1934. In the March/April issue, it was announced that, owing to popular demand, the committee would continue to publish a series of articles for parents. However, after 4 articles, placed intermittently in subsequent issues, the last appeared in February 1936. No explanation was given for the section's demise.

Table 8: Occupational and Gender Distribution of Authors of the "Parents and Children" Section

	M	F	Total
Psychologist	8	5	13
Psychiatric Worker	5	5	10
University Lecturer	3		3
Culturalist		4	4
Medical		6	6
Teacher	1	2	3
Parent		2	2
Other		4	4
Anon.			2
TOTAL	17	28	47

Table 8 confirmed a bias among the authors in favour of a psychological/ psychiatric perspective. Together, these categories represented one half of the authors. This reproduced the bias of the committee. The medical category ranked third, and underpinned the psychological perspectives. The relatively high input from medical specialists possibly reflected the interests of the Chair of the committee, who was a medical doctor. The contribution of the educative professions was small, the university lecturers and teachers wrote 3 articles each. The input from parents was negligible, reinforcing the idea that this section was intended for parents as receivers rather than offering them a platform for their perspectives.

Table 9: Content Analysis of the "Parents and Children" Section

Aspects of behaviour	11
Problem Child	2
Parent/Child	7
Pre-school	6
School-age	4
Adolescence	6
Material Culture	6
Culture	2
Physical Welfare	1
Parent Education	2
TOTAL	47

The content analysis in Table 9, typified the journal's approach to parents. The topics covered were exhaustive, ranging from the parent-child relationship, sex education and play to individual differences, the backward child and adolescence. The course incorporated aspects of behaviour such as "should a child be considerate?", "discipline" and "fear and anxiety". There were articles on material aspects of the

child's environment such as nursery furniture, toys, books and the "money troubles of adolescence". These were classified under the heading of material culture. In fact, there was greater concern with the material and cultural facets than with children's physical welfare. It was implicitly assumed that those parents who either read The New Era, or attended parent education groups, were competent enough to provide for the physical wellbeing of their children.

Whereas the child's physical welfare was assumed, many articles were concerned with mental hygiene. At least 7 out of the 10 categories emphasised parental understanding of the child. The attitude towards parents was slightly censorious. If they understood the different stages of development, they would respond appropriately to the child's behaviour. There was a particular concern with aspects of behaviour in 11 articles, such as "the fetters of fear", "when your child is difficult" and "habit formation". A number of articles addressed the parent/child relationship (6) and the problem child (2). The main focus of the articles was on normal child development but, clearly, parents were held responsible for childhood maladjustments. The editorial summed up the attitude to parents:

> "There is never a problem child, there is only a problem parent. The child usually becomes a problem because its parents do not understand the nature of the child. In other cases the child becomes a problem because the parents do not understand themselves."
>
> (AS Neill, OT 1932, Jun:165)

The booklists were incorporated into the study outlines offering the potential for a more detailed or advanced study of the topic under discussion. For example, there were books on habit formation, personality development and the problem child. The content analysis of the books in table 10, reflects the concerns of the article analysis, with a special emphasis on child development (21) sex education (7) and the problem child (7). Most books addressed the pre-school child, with only 6 focusing on school-age children, 2 on careers and 2 on

adolescence. The booklists were divided into popular and advanced reading. At least two-thirds of the helpful books were popular but the course offered the possibility of more advanced study. The reading lists lifted the "Parents and children" supplement from the very basic, more anecdotal approach of the articles.

Table 10: Content Analysis of the Books Recommended in the "Parents and Children" Section

Child Development	21
Problem Child	7
Parent/Child	5
Play	3
School-age	5
Adolescence	2
Sex Education	7
Careers	2
Family	4
TOTAL	56

In spite of the separation of the parents' supplement from the main body of the journal, the first issue editorial emphasised that it was not intended for parents alone:

> "But this concentrating of material specifically intended for parents in one part of the magazine will defeat our editorial policy unless parents will read the material intended for teachers and vice versa." (OT 1932 Jun:166)

Clearly, the decision to publish the supplement separately was taken because of its potentially wider dissemination in that format. The editorial was very concerned to dispel any impression that this implied a division of interests.

The philosophy of The New Era encompassed "the Whole child in a Whole world". It was not enough for parents to

concentrate only on the child's upbringing ignorant of, for example, the teacher's perspective. The editorial emphatically stressed that:

> "The influence of education on social change will only be real in the measure in which educators, parents and teachers are willing to study not only the fraction of the problem which happens to be their immediate concern, but the essential elements in the problem as a whole." (OT 1932 Jun: 166)

This quotation is very important because it captures the ambivalence in the approach to parents. In this quotation, parents are invited to join with educators and teachers in adopting a holist perspective as a precursor to social change. The invitation implies an equality in the relationship between parents, teachers and educators which diverged from the more general attitude towards parents as receivers of New Education's pedagogic message.

7. Content Analysis of Book Reviews

The back pages of every issue contained book reviews. A content analysis was conducted for all the books reviewed in the thirty year period to discover the extent to which they reflected New Education principles. The content analysis of book reviews represents a simplified version of the classification scheme for articles in chapter 6. Here the book review analysis distinguishes between books which cover the theoretical perspectives and books which cover the practical applications of New Education. In each period, many school text books would be reviewed in The New Era These were classified in a separate category.

The results of the book review analysis are presented fully in the table in Appendix 5. Here the books are classified under the three general headings of perspectives, applications and school texts for each of the three decades.

Table 11: Classification of the Contents of Literature Review

	1920's	1930's	1940's
Perspectives			
Total	101	153	92
%	40	32	25
Applications			
Total	107	251	175
%	43	52	48
School Texts			
Total	42	80	100
%	17	16	27
Grand Total	250	484	367

The total number of books reviewed in each period was 250 in the Twenties, approximately 6 per issue, 484 in the Thirties, 4 per issue and 367 in the Forties, an average of 3 per issue. Owing to the changes in periodicity of the journal comparisons between periods are based entirely on percentage figures.

In the 1920's, when New Education first emerged as a theoretical discipline, 40% of the books reviewed were concerned with its theoretical base. In this period, the proportion of books devoted to the theoretical perspectives and practical applications of New Education was almost the same 40% and 43% respectively. The perspectives books focused upon New Education, New Psychology and psychoanalysis and the applications books on curriculum, world education and school organisation. In this period, 17% of the books were school text books.

In the Thirties, more books were reviewed about the practical areas of concern of New Education rather than its theoretical perspectives. The perspectives total represented 32% of the book reviews and at least half of these were theories and manuals on child development (classified under New Psychology in Appendix 5). The proportion of perspectives

articles dropped still further in the Forties, to 25%. This implied that the boom in child development manuals for parents was over. Philosophy was more popular in this period as a result of the growing number of books on the politics of peace and democracy. Applications accounted for 48% of the books reviewed in the Forties and, as in the previous decades, curriculum, world education and school organisation remained the most popular applications. More than one quarter of the books were school texts (27%). This represented the highest proportion in any period and implied their growing popularity.

The New Era made its appeal to the wide audience of pioneer educators, educationists, teachers and parents. It aimed to incorporate all those interested in the welfare of children. The book reviews offer some indication of the journal's ambience. The reviews incorporated an academic market through the theoretical texts although the proportion of these declined from 40% to 25%. The books were less likely to attract parent readers apart from the child development manuals and the few books written specifically for them about different aspects of education. In general, the reviews seemed to be more narrowly directed towards teachers with the major focus on the principles of New Education, Curriculum and School organisation. Moreover, the proportion of school texts increased from 17% to 27% and those would be of interest only to teachers. The changing pattern of books reviewed over the thirty year period revealed a shift towards a more applied, teacher-focused approach. This implies that a particular target market consisting of teachers predominantly, had been confidently established.

8. The Directory of Schools (Advertisements)

An analysis of the advertisements over the thirty year period demonstrates the changes in the presentation of New Education in each of the decades. A classification scheme was devised which contained 5 categories. They represented the features of the schools which were most emphasised:

1. Pedagogic Methods. These include Montessori and Froebel

methods and more general statements such as, based on "New Ideals" or "modern methods".

2. Creative Education. Creativity was an important aspect of New Education through the encouragement of personal development and self-expression. Many schools specialised in creative activities such as music, dance, eurhythmics, arts, crafts and Drama.

3. Physical Environment. New Education often prioritised the external environment of the school especially natural surroundings, and scope for open-air activities as well as attention to health, diet and exercise.

4. Academic Standards. This was not fundamental to New Education which prioritised personal development and affective qualities rather than cognitive skills. This category provides a measure of the accommodation of some of the progressive schools to criticisms concerning their activity to equip pupils to pass conventional examinations or university entrance qualifications.

5. Specialist schools for Maladjusted and Backward Children. These schools catered for the less academic, temperamental, nervous, difficult or delinquent middle-class children. They offered them a sanctuary in a New Education environment organised around the individual's needs.

Examples of the advertisements have been found to illustrate the categories in each decade. These are shown in Appendix 6.

In the 1920's, the emphasis in New Education was on the creation of a "free educative environment". Many of the advertisements mentioned that the school was organised according to "New Ideals" or along "New Era" lines and also emphasised the physical environment of the school, for example Frensham Heights, Kingsmoor School and Little Felcourt Home School. It was almost as if New Education was contingent on a beautiful, natural environment. Implicit in the attention to the physical surroundings was a strong anti-industrialist ethos and a pro-naturalist tendency.

In this period, creative education was mentioned in many advertisements. For example, The Garden School specialised in "music, arts, crafts, carpentry, eurhythmics, Greek dancing, drama and games" while the Margaret Morris school focused more on dance and drama. Some schools, such as Ocklye House and Little Felcourt Home school emphasised outdoor activities, gardening, nature study and an open-air life "to develop their natural instinct for happy creative activities" (Ocklye House).

Only four schools mentioned academic standards in their advertisements - Frensham Heights, Enderley House, St. Christopher's School and Calder Girls' School. The first three stated that they prepared students for matriculation and university entrance examinations, the fourth suggested a more formal academic education because it was run on "public school" lines.

The fifth category was exclusive to the Twenties. No advertisements for such specialist schools appeared (even for the same schools) in the Thirties or Forties. These schools demonstrated the interconnection between New Education and New Psychology. The children received expert medical and educational attention based on psychological assessments of their individual needs. Such schools offered an ideal solution to the problem presented to professional middle-class parents of an under-achieving or difficult child.

In the Twenties, the application of New Education was confined to the predominantly private sector. The New Era would have been circulated in, and supported by, private schools. In the Thirties, with a prospect of a much wider application of New Education, there was a shift in the way it was portrayed in the advertisements. Most of them were more clearly demarcated with stronger boundary-maintenance of categories. For example, there was a less frequent conjunction of pedagogic methods with physical environment or creative education.

The advertisements for Brickwall, The Froebel Preparatory School and The School of The Holy Child concentrated exclusively on pedagogic methods. The advertisements tended to spell out more frequently what they meant by New Education, presumably as a reaction to allegations of extremism in some schools. Wychwood School proposed the "development of individual character by freedom and co-operative government, but with old-fashioned standards of courtesy". Boyle's Court school, run by Dora Russell, proclaimed that "the school's aim is to give all types of children the means to equip themselves and reach fulfilment in the life of the world today." Interestingly, at the school of The Holy Child, the best of progressive education was combined with true Christian teaching.

In this period, creative education tended to be more narrowly-defined in terms of arts, crafts, dance, drama and music, as at Dartington Hall. The physical environment continued to be emphasised in advertisements. An open-air life was offered at Sevenoaks Open-air School and Forest School. Red Hatch and Cudham Hall School boasted country surroundings and attention to health and diet. Pinehurst, situated on the "beautiful Kentish Weald", advocated "food reform diet, sun and air bathing" and held an "excellent health record".

In the Thirties, one third of the sample of advertisements emphasised a "sound education" in addition to other features, for example, Pinehurst and Dartington Hall. Cranemoor College and Queen Bertha's School emphasised sound education, but under healthy conditions, Badminton school promoted a sound education linked with preparation for world citizenship.

In the Forties, almost half of the sample of advertisements claimed that the school offered a sound education or high academic standards. This contrasted with one-quarter in the Twenties, and one-third in the Thirties. Bryanston school provided a typical example in its claim that,

> "The educational aim of the school is to unite what is best in the public school tradition with what experiment has shown to be the best in modern educational theory".

In spite of the more academic orientation of the advertisements, there was no shortage of schools specialising in creative education or offering an appropriate physical environment. However, some of these schools did combine their specialism with a "sound education" as at High March and Moorland Schools.

In the thirty year period, the number of schools advertising in The New Era increased. The directory of schools was aimed at a target audience of essentially professional middle-class parents who were committed to New Education. A number of schools consistently advertised in each of the three decades, for example, King Alfred School, Frensham Heights, The Garden School, Oaklea, Duncan House and Badminton. This provided additional evidence in support of the assertion that The New Era had a sufficiently wide circulation to make it a viable market. Indeed, there must have been a fairly extensive parent readership to sustain the number of advertisements.

The advertisements established the schools as different from traditional public schools, appealing to readers committed to New Education principles. It was surprising, therefore, to find in them an increased emphasis on a "sound" education. This implied that, however strong their commitment was to New Education, parents were not prepared to sacrifice standards to principles.

9. Conclusion

The analysis of the different themes and features both reinforced and amplified the journal's policy and objectives. For example, the "Letters to the Editor" generally reflected editorial policy in the selection of letters for publication. In the instances where a letter clearly diverged from acceptable policy, it provoked editorial comment. The dual

objective of promoting International and Experimental Education was evident in the thematic analysis, International Notes, and book reviews. The book reviews and thematic analysis supplied evidence in support of experimental education and world education. The "International Notes" represented an important expression of the journal's commitment to International Education through the world wide exchange of information.

The diverse features of the journal yielded important additional information about its audience. Initially, The New Era made its appeal to a vast and varied audience of all those concerned about children's welfare. More specially, it addressed educational pioneers, teachers, parents and children. The demise of the "Children's Corner" implied an early reappraisal of the journal's readership which proved to be more realistic.

In the Twenties, the journal was mainly unsuccessful in its efforts to incorporate parents. They hardly used the Question and Answer section at all. However, in the Thirties with a change of title to "Questions from Parents and Teachers", there was a much better response and parents asked three-quarters of the questions. The "Parents and Children" section was designed specifically for parent education purposes. It represented part of the Thirties' policy initiative to involve parents. The journal recognised the importance of parents and wished to incorporate them into the New Education venture. But this implied an equality in their inclusion which there is little evidence to support. For example, parents needed to be directly invited before they would send in questions and rarely engaged in any correspondence with the editor; they wrote only 3 out of 67 letters. There is no indication that parents were encouraged to participate actively in the creation of the New Education discourse. Rather, they were seen as recipients of its pedagogic messages.

Nevertheless, there is evidence to support a parent readership. The directory of schools suggested a wide parent audience to support the extensive advertising in every issue. The advertisements focused on private sector schools, thereby limiting the appeal of The New Era to the private sector and indeed, the middle-class within it. Thus, the journal was not intended for mass consumption but rather for select middle-class parents who could afford private school fees. The schools advertising in the journal identified their difference from traditional public schools. They aimed to attract the professional middle-class readership who were committed to New Education principles.

However, the major target audience of the journal was undoubtedly teachers. The thematic analysis identified a major concern with New Education and curriculum issues, of central importance for teachers but relatively little attention to specific teacher interests. However, teachers participated in both the "Questions and Answers" and the "Letters to the Editor". This implied both a willingness to experiment and a critical engagement with New Education. The advertisement section included a directory of training courses and teaching appointments. Finally, the book reviews were predominantly teacher-focused.

This chapter provides a context for the author and content analyses which follow. It offers an institutional structure of the journal to frame the subsequent author and content analyses and serves as a comparative focus.

CHAPTER 5

AUTHORS

1. Introduction

The author analysis was carried out to discover who was involved in the creation of New Education discourse. The authorship of articles in The New Era, was identified and classified in terms of occupation and gender distribution. From this information, an accurate picture can be obtained of the occupational spread of those involved in creating the New Educational discourse as well as the relative importance of each occupational category in this process. The analysis focuses upon each of the three decades and assesses the changes in the occupational and gender distribution of authors both within and between these periods.

The author analysis also bears upon who was involved in the New Education Fellowship. The absence of archival information about the composition of the NEF membership means that the author analysis represents an important indication of the wider membership. While the authors could not, with absolute certainty, be seen as a microcosm of the fellowship, they nevertheless represent a specialised sample of the field-creating media and the occupational positions constituting that field.

2. Method

2.1 Major Classification and Categories of the Analysis: Occupation and Gender

2.1.1 Occupation

The classificatory system derived from a sample of the issues for the middle three years in each decade for example, 1934-6. The sample was used to test the adequacy of an initial classification scheme of seven categories. These consisted of teachers; educational experts, i.e. academics; educational

administrators; psychiatrists; psychologists; parents; and others. These categories failed to describe adequately the occupational range of the authors. As a consequence, a new classification introduced some modifications and changes.

The final classification listed the following twelve categories:

1. Medical.
2. Social Worker.
3. Psychiatric Worker.
4. Psychologist.
5. University Lecturer.
6. Teacher Training.
7. Teacher.
8. Educational Administrator.
9. Culturalist.
10. Parent.
11. Other.
12. Report.

Some of the categories require greater amplification. The psychiatric worker category included psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, child guidance workers (from the mid-thirties they began to contribute articles) and psychiatric social workers, (introduced in the 1940's). Among the psychologists, some were involved in developing specialisms at the university level such as delinquency research or child development. Others worked in the applied field of educational, clinical and industrial psychology.

The educational experts are divided into two separate categories to assess the relative contribution of the university and teacher training college to the field of New Education. However, this assessment is not clear-cut because the universities increasingly had teacher training departments and lecturers in education. The university lecturer category excluded academic psychologists who were coded in the psychologist category.

In creating the category of university lecturer, the intention was to be exclusive. As a consequence, research officers at the universities who were not involved in a teaching capacity had to be classified as 'Other'. This occurred in two instances: firstly, when H. Field, research officer under the direction of Cyril Burt at the University of London, Institute of Education, wrote an article on delinquency research in the mid-thirties; secondly, James Hemming was a research officer, when he first contributed articles to the journal, but he later became a well-known psychologist and was placed subsequently in the category of psychologists.

The culturalists covered a wide spectrum of artists, authors, crafts experts, museum curators, librarians and theatrical personnel. A miscellany of professions and occupations came under the heading of 'Other' where individual representation was too small to warrant separate classifications. The category included scientists, educational research officers, students and pupils. Occasionally an economist, politician or legal expert or representative of one religion or another would contribute an article.

The Reports were incorporated into the author analysis on a single count basis in spite of the fact that they were mostly written by a composite group of authors. Reports included government publications, conference reports and the work of various NEF commissions, first included at the 1929 Elsinore Conference. Also included in this section were articles written by other organizations such as The Association for Education in Citizenship.

The categories of Medical and Social Worker were proposed for comparative purposes. It was anticipated that neither profession would have much involvement in New Education. The Medical profession was representative of the conservative professions whereas New Education attempted to break away from existing traditions. Social Workers represented the emergent caring professions but in this period, were more concerned with

the physical welfare of working class children.

2.1.2 The Gender Distribution of Authors

The main reason for including the gender distribution of authors was to assess the level of women's involvement in the creation of New Education discourse. The gender analysis supplies important information about the sexual divisions within the occupational classification at a time when career opportunities for women were expanding. Finally, the gender distribution of authors may also reflect the wider membership of the NEF. Most articles give some clue to the author's gender identity either from the information presented about him/her or from the content of the article.

Across the thirty year span, no consistent presentation of information about the authors developed. In most issues, each article was headed by the name and occupation of the author as in many other serious academic journals. Some issues provided notes on the contributors on the page opposite to the contents, while others lacked explicit information about the author's occupation. This could only be discerned from the article. Where the use of initials or the title doctor precluded gender identification, the author was classified as non gender-specific. Occasionally, the contributor's gender could be identified from the article. The reports were all classified as non-gender-specific, in spite of the fact that most committees tended to be male-dominated.

2.2 The Classification of Articles and Problems of Coding

The author analysis included every article in every issue and the contributor was coded in the most appropriate category. Where an article was written by more than one author, all the contributors were coded, each under the most relevant heading. For example, the articles on the Hampstead War Nursery were written by Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham. For each of their articles, both were coded under female Psychiatric

Workers as they were renowned psychoanalysts.

In the application of the author analysis a number of problems arose which provided further amplification of the method. Some articles were written anonymously and thus excluded from the analysis. In addition, a number of issues devoted to a specific theme, for instance history teaching, might include a summary article that listed for example, useful teaching aids, bibliographies, relevant organizations to contact. Such articles had no author attributed to them and were also excluded from the author analysis (but not the content analysis in the next chapter).

There were a number of factors which led to a discrepancy between the article count in the content analysis and the author totals. These factors included articles written by a composite number of authors, occasional anonymous articles and some summary articles that were not author-classified.

Some of the authors presented a coding problem. In the late 1930's and 1940's, articles were written by speech therapists on speech difficulties on children. It was eventually decided to place them as Psychologists but they could also have been classified under Medical Experts. One of the speech therapists was coded under Teacher Trainer because her job entailed training prospective teachers to deal with speech difficulties. She was actually employed by a teacher training college. Where authors changed their occupational status over the years their classification also changed as with the earlier example of James Hemming. Ghandi contributed to a special issue on Indian Education in May 1938. He defied classification under the scheme.

The author analysis demonstrates the occupational spread and the gender distribution of The New Era contributors. The results of the analysis are presented in Tables 1-3 which provide the basis for the discussion in the next sections.

3. Results

3.1 Introduction

The findings are considered under two headings: firstly, within each period in terms of the occupational and gender distributions; and secondly, as a comparison of the relationships between the three decades. In response to the changes in periodicity of the journal from a quarterly issue in the Twenties to a monthly in the Thirties and the subsequent reduction in the size of each issue, it was necessary to adjust the Thirties figures by halving them. However, no similar adjustment was required for the Forties because of the reduction in the size of the journal for the duration of the war. The results of the author analysis are presented in Tables 1-3 and provide the basis for the discussion below.

3.2.1 1920's The Occupational Distribution of Authors (Table 1)

Table 1: Occupational and Gender Distribution of Authors in the 1920's

	Male	Female	Non-Gender Specific	TOTAL	%	Rank Order
Medical	7	1		8	2	10
Social Worker						12
Psychiatric Worker	26	10		36	8	3
Psychologist	20	11		31	7	4
University Lecturer	57	2		59	13	2
Teacher Training	4	7	1	12	3	9
Teacher	117	89	14	220	49	1
Educational Administrator	22	4	1	27	6	5
Culturalist	11	8	1	20	4	7
Parent	1			1		11
Other	6	8	2	16	3	8
Report			23	23	5	6
TOTAL	271	140	42	453	100	
%	60	31	9			

In the 1920's, The New Era appealed to teachers and to isolated educational pioneers in its intention to establish a forum for an international community of intellectuals. In this period, teachers, working predominantly in the private progressive schools, were the dominant authorial group. They accounted for 49% of the articles, thereby demonstrating their importance within the New Education movement. They represented the educational practitioners. They experimented with the new ideas in the classroom. As such, they were not the creators of New Education discourse.

The university lecturer category ranked second, with an input of 13%. They were not the isolated educational pioneers that the first 'editorial' envisaged. Rather, they represented an elite community of intellectuals who were instrumental in the production of the pedagogic theory of New Education. In contrast to the university lecturers, teacher training colleges had relatively little influence and contributed a total of only twelve articles (out of an overall total of 453) ranking nineth in the hierarchy. At this stage, New Education was mainly confined to the private sector and it was difficult to envisage its relevance to teachers in state schools.

80% of the articles were written by those involved in pedagogic practice. They consisted of a highly-specialised group of professions across the educational spectrum. These included teachers, university lecturers, psychiatric workers, psychologists and teacher training tutors. From these occupations, the NEF drew its strength, developing its networks from the interrelatedness of functions which facilitated the flow of information. It is uncertain whether the nexus of social relations pre-existed the NEF or whether the organization itself created the medium for such a network to evolve. Nevertheless, the conjunction of specialists representing different agencies was unique to The New Era.

It is interesting to note that educational administrators were involved in writing for The New Era from the start. They

contributed 6% of the articles and ranked fifth in the author hierarchy. New Education began in the predominantly private schools sector and therefore might be seen to have little application to state administrators. However, they had been committed from an early stage in the discussion groups and conferences, such as the New Ideals in Education Conferences, which were organised annually by Edmond Holmes, an HMI. These conferences ran from 1914 onwards and were forerunners of the NEF. The Fellowship was inspired by Beatrice Ensor, herself an HMI.

The administrators appeared at the forefront of the New Education movement. They represented one of its most essential components because they facilitated the transition of New Education practices to state schools. Their function was crucial in the dissemination and implementation of New Education within the state education system. However, this statement pre-empts their role in the Thirties. At this stage, their active contribution to The New Era provided reassurance of their interest in and future potential for New Education.

The culturalists were a small but significant group of authors. They represented the expressive function of New Education in the endeavour to introduce crafts and creative skills into the educative environment. Their contribution of twenty articles (4%) underlined New Education's concern with the affective dimension of education in the equation of creativity with individual self-expression.

The category 'Other' accounted for 3% of the authors and covered a wide range of occupations. The combination of these two categories (Culturalists and Others) suggested that New Education was not narrowly confined to recognisable educational interests. In the Twenties, 23 articles were classified as reports. They were mainly connected with the five major international NEF conferences.

Medical experts were included to test the hypothesis that the traditional conservative professions were not involved in New Education. In fact, the medical experts contributed only eight articles in this period which constituted their highest input in comparison with the other periods. This absence both confirmed the hypothesis and suggested that a low priority was attached to children's physical welfare in New Education discourse.

Social workers also had little to do with New Education discourse in spite of the fact that they were representative of the new caring professions which, especially in the field of education and psychiatric services, were crucially connected with New Education. However, the absence of social workers was probably owing to their major orientation towards the 'pathology' of working class family life whereas New Education was orientated mainly towards the middle class.

The most surprising absence was of parents. In spite of the journal's appeal to parents to become involved in the New Education movement they were not active participants in the creation of its discourse. This absence confirmed the professionalism underpinning New Education. It seems that The New Era was addressed to parents without offering them a platform to express their own opinion.

3.2.2 1920's Gender Distribution

Male authors wrote 60% of the articles in this period in comparison with 31% written by female authors. The remaining 9% were non-gender-specific. Half of these were reports and the remainder were articles where no clue to the author's gender identity had been given. Most of this latter group were teachers. In almost all the categories, with the exception of teacher trainers and others, the men constituted the majority.

In three of the categories, there was an excessive male majority. For example, among university lecturers a total of

57 out of 59 were men. Similarly, 22 out of 27 educational administrators were men and in the medical category 7 out of 8 were male. More than half of the psychiatric workers and psychologists were men. Within the male author group, 43% were teachers and 21% university lecturers.

The occupational spread of the female authors was less diverse than that of the men with 63% of the female total as teachers. The only category in which women outnumbered the men was in teacher training, where they contributed 7 of the 12 articles. However, at that time, teacher training tutors carried less status than the university lecturers. This might explain why women constituted a majority in this category. There were also more female authors in the category of 'Other'. Finally, although the men outnumbered women in the categories of Teachers and Culturalists the difference was less marked than in other categories.

3.2.3 Summary

Almost half of the articles were written by teachers in this period, establishing their importance in New Education practitioners. They worked mainly in the private progressive schools and were willing to experiment with theoretical ideas in their pedagogic practice. The influence of the university lecturer was already quite extensive accounting for 13% of the total. At this stage, the influence of teacher training colleges and Educational Administrators, as representatives of the state education system, was relatively small but nevertheless significant. Psychiatric Workers and Psychologists ranked third and fourth respectively which indicated the extent of their participation in New Education. Although the Culturalists and Others represented a fringe function, together they accounted for 7% of the author total. The categories of Medical, Social Worker and Parent mustered only 2% of the articles between them and proved more significant by their absence.

The gender analysis revealed a bias in favour of male authors (60%). In particular, men dominated the categories of University Lecturer, Educational Administrator and Medical. Women authors (31%) were mainly concentrated in the teaching profession. They achieved dominance over men only in the Teacher Training and 'Other' categories. It seems that women played a more minor role in the construction of New Education discourse. Almost two-thirds of the female authors were teachers (64%) which implied that they played a more important role as reproducers of New Education ideas in the classroom context.

3.3.1 1930's The Occupational Spread of Authors (Table 2)

Table 2: Occupational and Gender Distribution of Authors in the 1930's

	Male	Female	Non-Gender Specific	TOTAL	%	Rank Order
Medical	4	2		6	1	10
Social Worker	1	1		2	0	12
Psychiatric Worker	12	15	2	29	4	5
Psychologist	23	13	1	39	8	4
University Lecturer	51	9	2	62	13	2
Teacher Training	5	15	2	22	5	8
Teacher	124	82	7	213	45	1
Educational Administrator	37	6		43	9	3
Culturalist	15	11	1	27	6	6
Parent	1	4		5	1	11
Other	13	8	2	23	5	7
Report			12	12	3	9
TOTAL	286	166	29	481	100	
%	59	35	6	100		

The 1930's restatement of The New Era's objectives announced great changes, especially in the attention to children's home life. However, it would appear, from the author analysis results, that there was no comparable increase in the parental input to the journal, from one article in the Twenties to five in the Thirties. Moreover, there was little change in the input from the Psychologists and Psychiatric Workers. This was in marked contrast to the greater concentration on the psychology of child development, in the content analysis. From this evidence, a massive increase in the contribution from Psychologists was anticipated. However, the insubstantial rise in the psychologists input from 7% to 8% implies that other author categories promoted child development theory. The constitution of the consultative committee that organised the parents and children supplement supports this idea. The committee consisted of medical experts, psychiatric workers and university lecturers as well as psychologists (See chapter 4 for a fuller analysis of the consultative committee).

The 1930's statement of objectives made it clear that The New Era would continue to be the teacher's 'outlook tower' on the world of progressive education. Certainly, the author analysis demonstrated that once again Teachers constituted the largest category of contributors writing 45% of the articles.

Whereas New Education was confined mainly to the private sector in the 1920's, it was beginning to make inroads into the public education arena in the Thirties. The contribution from educational administrators almost doubled its Twenties' level and constituted 9% of the articles. They ranked third implying concern with the practical application of New Education in schools. This group was absolutely crucial for the dissemination of the pedagogic message of New Education.

The second group which was instrumental in the extension of New Education into the state sector was the teacher training tutors. The training colleges were important state agencies for the transmission of pedagogic principles of teaching. The

teacher-training category had increased from 3% to 5% and ranked fifth in the hierarchy. In contrast, the contribution from University Lecturers had remained constant, maintaining second rank and comprising 13% of the articles.

There was little change in the remaining categories except for slight increases in the input from Culturalists and Other. However, the number of reports halved in this period mainly because there were only two international conferences. The growth of regional conferences did not compensate for the shortfall because they received less extensive coverage, at least in article form.

3.3.2 1930's Gender Distribution

With the extension of New Education to the home front, a significant increase in the contribution of women authors was anticipated. However, the proportion of named women authors increased from 31% to 35% only. The percentage of male authors remained the same. Only 5% of the total were non-gender-specific. This was a reduction from the Twenties level partly as a result of the clearer identification of authors for much of this period and partly due to fewer reports. Just under half of the non-gender specific articles were reports.

The dominance of the male authors was sustained in most categories but, with the exception of Educational Administrators·the extent of male influence had been reduced. For example, men constituted 82% of the University Lecturers as compared with 97% in the Twenties and women University Lecturers had risen from 2% to 9. Teachers represented 43% of the male authors total and University Lecturers 18%.

The women authors were more diversified across the occupational spread than previously, with a fall in the proportion of women Teachers to 49% of the female total. Women authors constituted 68% of the Teacher Training tutors

confirming their dominance in this category in the Thirties. Women authors also dominated in the Psychiatric Worker category for the first time, constituting 52% of that category's total but the numbers are small. The rise in the child guidance network from the mid-Thirties onwards explained the dominance of women in this category because child guidance clinics tended to be administered by women. In the Parent category, 4 out of the 5 articles were written by mothers.

In some of the occupational categories the relatively equal contributions of male and female authors masked sexual divisions within the professions. For example, in the burgeoning of the child guidance network, there were greater opportunities for women to fill the positions but they tended to be ancillary to the predominantly male psychiatrists who directed the clinics. Similarly, the prevalence of women in the teacher training colleges was indicative of their lower status in relation to the heavily male-dominated universities.

3.3.3 Summary

While Teachers continued as the largest category of authors in the Thirties, they represented a slightly smaller proportion of the total than previously. The rise in the categories of Educational Administrators and Teacher Training Tutors was substantial as both almost doubled. These categories were specially important in preparing for the transition of New Education from the private to the state sector because they occupied key positions for the dissemination of the pedagogic message of New Education. The expansion of New Education to the state sector was not matched by its expansion to the home front, at least not in terms of the parental input into the journal. This remained significantly small.

The contribution of women authors increased while that of the male authors remained the same. Women made some inroads into predominantly male occupations and achieved dominance in

others. However, the greater equality in the gender distribution masked sexual divisions within some of the occupational categories, especially Psychiatric Workers and Teacher Training where women authors were dominant. In this period, women teachers constituted half of the female authors (49%) which implies that they played a more active role in the actual construction of New Education discourse.

3.4.1 1940's The Occupational Spread of Authors (Table 3)

Table 3: Occupational and Gender Distribution of Authors in the 1940's

	Male	Female	Non-Gender Specific	TOTAL	%	Rank Order
Medical		5	1	6	1	10
Social Worker	2	1	2	5	1	11
Psychiatric Worker	26	46		72	16	3
Psychologist	15	12		27	6	8
University Lecturer	88	11		99	20	2
Teacher Training	20	16	6	42	8	5
Teacher	65	57	8	130	26	1
Educational Administrator	36	6	1	43	9	4
Culturalist	22	5	1	28	5	6
Parent		2		2	0	12
Other	9	6	1	16	3	9
Report			24	24	5	7
TOTAL	283	167	44	494	100	
%	57	34	9	100		

The occupational distribution in the Forties proved markedly different from any other period. This was partially explained by specific influences of the Second World War. For example, the contribution of psychiatric workers increased in response to wartime anxieties about children's mental health. Their input rose from 6% in the Thirties to 16% in the Forties. Also, The New Era relied heavily on a team of wartime psychiatrists to offer advice to its membership about the effects of evacuation, separation and bereavement on parent-child relationships. The best known of these psychiatrists were Bowlby, Winnicott and Isaacs.

The other contributory factor to the massive increase in the Psychiatric Worker category was the growth of the child guidance network. The Psychiatric Worker category thus provided the crucial underpinning for the increased attention in The New Era to psychoanalysis. This was unlike the Thirties where the concentration on New Psychology was not matched by a proportionate increase in the contribution of psychologists. Social workers made their sole contribution to the journal in this period with a few articles on refugees. Their contribution represented only 1% of the author total.

The crucial change in the Forties was the shift away from Teachers. Although the rank position of Teachers remained unchanged, the extent of their contribution had dwindled to 26%. This constituted just over half of its input in either of the other periods. The role of teachers in the creation of the New Education discourse therefore declined dramatically in this period.

Conversely, a substantial increase occurred in the more specialised occupations. The input from University Lecturers rose to 20%, just 6% less than that of the Teachers. The contribution from Psychiatric Workers was 16% and from Teacher-Training was 8%. The Teacher-Training category had again increased its contribution providing continued evidence of state interest in New Education. Particularly in the

mid-Forties, the future direction of teacher training was considered at some length. The Teacher Training category ranked fifth behind the Educational Administrators who had sustained their Thirties rank and level of input at 9%.

The number of Reports doubled in this period, most of them concerned with education for peace, international understanding and post war educational reconstruction. Once again, there was remarkable consistency in the last three categories with a minimal input from Medical Experts, Social Workers and Parents. These categories remained significant only for their absence of input.

3.4.2 1940's Gender Distribution

The proportion of male authors dropped in the Forties, while the proportion of female authors remained the same. The proportion of non gender-specific articles increased from 5% to 9%. Just over half of them were Reports. The remainder were unclear in the attribution of gender identity, especially in Teacher categories. It was interesting to find a switch in gender dominance from female authors to male authors in the Teacher-Training category. The men accounted for 48% of the total and women 38%. It was likely that, with employment shortages in the aftermath of the war, the men were making inroads into previously female-dominated professions.

Men continued to dominate the University Lecturer category writing 88 out of the 99 articles. Whereas the men had overtaken the women in the Teacher-Training category, no similar advance had been achieved by women in the University Lecturer category. In fact in relation to the Thirties their position had deteriorated. The University Lecturers constituted 31% of the male authors which was higher than the proportion of Teachers - 23% of the total.

In this period, women were less narrowly concentrated in the teaching profession with only 34% of the female total.

Consequently, they achieved a greater spread across the occupational categories. This reflected the national expansion of career opportunities for women. For example, the dominance in the Psychiatric Worker category, achieved in the Thirties, increased further in the Forties with the expansion of child guidance clinics and in the newly created field of psychiatric social workers. Women were dominant in the category of Psychiatric Workers and in the two less significant categories of Medical and Parent.

3.4.3 Summary

The occupational distribution changed dramatically in the Forties with the drop in the Teacher input from 45% in the Thirties, to 26%. The shift away from Teachers led to significant increases in other categories in particular, University Lecturers and Psychiatric Workers who contributed 20% and 16% of the articles respectively. The input from Teacher-Training increased again, while that of the Educational Administrators remained at the Thirties' level. The significance of both categories, ranking fifth and fourth respectively, demonstrated the continued interest of state agencies in the transmission and dissemination of New Education pedagogic practices.

The proportion of male authors dropped slightly in relation to the female authors. The highest male category was no longer Teachers but University Lecturers and the number of women teachers as a proportion of the female total dropped further to 34%. The greatest increase of women authors occurred in the Psychiatric Worker category, where they maintained and increased their dominance. However, women were no longer dominant in the Teacher-Training category.

3.5.1 A Comparison of the Occupational Distribution of Authors Across the Three Periods

The comparison of the occupational spread across the three decades uncovered interesting trends. Throughout the thirty years, Teachers represented the major category. In the Twenties and Thirties just under half of the author total was Teachers but the absolute number of Teachers declined slightly from 220 to 213. In the Forties, the Teacher category fell drastically to 26% with an absolute total of 130 articles. The Teacher dominance in the first two periods suggested a major interest in the practical application of New Education. Particularly in the private schools, Teachers experimented with new ideas and reported the outcomes in the journal. The hegemonic influence of Teachers was not sustained in the Forties when the shift away from Teachers implied a more specialist orientation. This shift coincided with a change in the balance of the NEF executive towards a more academic university-based membership. It is conceivable that this shift in the executive triggered a more academic orientation in the journal, implying that the executive committee had some influence over its editorial policy.

The major base of the theoretical aspect of New Education was in the University Lecturer category. In the first two decades, it ranked second and accounted for 23% of the articles rising to 20% in the last period. The Psychiatric Workers and Psychologists played an important part in the constitution of the field of New Education. Psychiatric Workers ranked third in the Twenties and Forties and fifth in the Thirties. Their input was consistently high especially in the Forties when psychoanalysis provided an explanatory framework for the crisis within the family induced by wartime conditions.

The Psychiatric Workers input dropped from 8% to 6% in the Thirties when the focus of attention was on normal development rather than the abnormal. However, the increase from 6% to 16% in the Forties also coincided with the development of the child

guidance network. It was in the Thirties that Psychologists made their greatest contribution to New Education with an input of 8% and switched ranks with the Psychiatric Workers. Nevertheless, this slight increase was in no way comparable to the number of articles written on the subject of New Psychology in that period. This lent support to the earlier assertion that not all articles adopting a particular perspective were written by specialists in that field.

Educational Administrators represented one of the most important categories in the author analysis. They demonstrated a solid interest in the New Education movement from the start. It was the presence of this category which enabled New Education to expand beyond the private school sector, from which it received its major impetus in the Twenties. With the application of New Education to the state sector in the Thirties, the input from the educational administrators almost doubled and then remained stable in the Forties. More than the teachers or theoreticians, this group had greater prospect of introducing state educational reform but their contributions to The New Era were small, 6% in the Twenties and 9% in the latter periods.

The Teacher-Training tutors were the other major group to facilitate the dissemination of New Education into the state education system. In the Twenties, their contribution was small with an input of 3% but this nearly doubled to 5% in the Thirties and to 8% in the Forties. The rank order of Teacher-Training tutors rose from nineth to fifth demonstrating the increased importance of teacher training in the shaping of New Education and the transmission of its pedagogic practices to the state system.

The group of six categories described above: Teachers, University Lecturers, Psychiatric Workers, Psychologists, Teacher-Training tutors and Educational Administrators, represented a highly specialised, professional grouping. From these occupations, the NEF drew its strength and, in each

period, the combined contribution from all these categories amounted to at least 80% of the overall author total.

The Culturalists were fairly consistent with an input of between 4 and 6%. They represented the creative dimension of New Education, performing a "fringe" function. Similarly, the category of 'Other' was consistent and further reinforced the idea that, in conjunction with the Culturalists, New Education was not narrowly confined to educationalists.

The last three categories were Medical, Social Work and Parents which accounted for only 2% of the input in each period. The medical category which represented the conservative professions, underlining the fact that they had no part to play in New Education. The absence of parents was most significant. The New Era made an explicit appeal to parents, especially in the Thirties, with its concentration on the home front.

However, it was clear that the journal addressed Parents as recipients rather than allowing them a more active role to play in the creation of New Education. Parents were seen as an audience for pedagogic messages. This view of parents reinforced the earlier claim that New Education was created and sustained by the narrow, professional, highly specialised group of those actively involved in pedagogic practice. Further, it was contrary to the journal's stated aim of encouraging the widest participation in educational matters.

3.5.2 A Comparison of the Gender Distribution Across the Three Periods

There was little change in the proportion of male to female authors over time. The men's total was 60% in the first two periods and dropped in the last to 57%. The women's total was at its lowest at 31% in the Twenties and increased to 35% in the Thirties and 34% in the Forties. There was much greater variation in the gender distribution within categories between

decades rather than within them. In the Twenties, male authors dominated all categories with the exception of Teacher-Training and Other. In particular, in the categories of University Lecturer and Educational Administrator, the preponderance of men was extreme. Over the entire period, the male stronghold in these categories hardly diminished. In general, male authors achieved a wider occupational spread than women who tended, especially in the Twenties, to be concentrated in the Teaching category. This implied that women were more involved as reproducers of the discourse in the classroom than as active agents in its construction, although over time, they began to play a more important part in this.

Significantly, there was no category in which women maintained dominance across all three periods. Their influence in Teacher-Training was reversed in the Forties and, in the Psychiatric Worker category, they did not achieve their position of dominance until the Thirties. In the Thirties, with a wider occupational spread, the proportion of women increased in all but three categories (Psychologists, Educational Administrators and Other). In the Forties, a further upward trend occurred in the following six categories: Medical, Psychiatric Worker, Psychologist, Teacher, Parent and Other with a downward swing in the University Lecturer, Teacher-Training and Social Worker categories.

Following the outbreak of the Second World War, it was likely that the Forties would reveal a dramatic fall in the proportion of male contributors as men were drafted into the army and a concomitant rise in the input from women. This situation did not occur and the war had little appreciable impact on the gender distribution beyond a slight fall in the male contribution. Ultimately, the gender divisions yielded by the author analysis was similar to that of the NEF hierarchy, women had a definite role to play but male dominance prevailed.

4. Conclusion

Table 4: Total Distribution of Authors

	Male	Female	Non-Gender Specific	TOTAL	%	Rank Order
Medical	11	8	1	20	1	10
Social Worker	3	2	2	7	1	10
Psychiatric Worker	64	71	2	13	10	3
Psychologist	58	36	1	95	7	5
University Lecturer	196	22	2	220	15	2
Teacher Training	29	38	9	76	5	6
Teacher	306	228	29	563	39	1
Educational Administrator	95	16	2	113	8	4
Culturalist	48	24	3	75	5	7
Parent	2	6		8	1	10
Other	28	22	5	55	4	9
Report			59	59	4	8
TOTAL	840	473	115	1428	100	
%	59	33	8	100		

The author analysis identified those involved in creating the New Education discursive field. This information is summarised in Table 4 which shows the total distribution of authors across the three periods. The authors can only be seen to represent a microcosm of the NEF's wider membership or at least a specialised sample of that membership. Although there is no evidence to support this assertion, there is no reason to presume otherwise. The New Era was the field-creating medium of New Education concerned initially to create an education field with its own apparatus and discourse.

Table 4 summarises the total distribution of authors across the three periods. It is only to be expected in an educational journal that Teachers and University Lecturers comprised the major groups of contributors. Together, across the three decades, these two categories account for 54% of all articles. In the 1920's and 1930's the major impetus came from Teachers in predominantly private schools, although the proportion of Teachers in state schools did increase in the 1930's and 1940's. They emphasised the practical application of New Education. However, by the 1940's there was a marked trend towards an increasingly specialised and professional input.

The intellectual field of New Education was in fact, more diverse. Table 4 shows that Psychiatric Workers ranked third. The role of Psychiatric Workers was especially important in the Forties, in the development of an integral relationship between the educational apparatus and the psychiatric services. The latter provided a framework for the management of difficult, maladjusted children, especially through the child guidance complex.

Throughout the entire period, educational administrators collaborated with teachers, academic specialists, psychologists and psychiatrists. The educational administrators ranked fourth across the three periods and they performed a most important mediating function. They were instrumental in the

transition of New Education from a limited experiment in the private sector to establishing the basis of the state education apparatus. Whereas the primary concern of the NEF had been to create an educational field, its secondary function was to introduce its method into state education. The increased involvement of Educational Administrators and also Teacher-Trainers from the 1930's onwards, were important relays of this expansion. However, New Education was not incorporated into the state system until much later, in the 1960's, when it provided the foundation for progressive pedagogies.

There was remarkable uniformity in the social class composition of the authorship. The dominant categories consisted of professionals: Teachers, University Lecturers, Psychiatric Workers, Educational Administrators, Psychologists and Teacher-Training tutors. This group accounted for 84% of all contributors. They represented the rising class of caring professions and their academic supports in this period. They were identifiable as crucial agents of a new educational hegemony composed of a broad-based professional group. In this respect, it was important to note that Psychologists, Psychiatric Workers, Culturalists and Others participated in the production of New Education discourse. The Culturalists served an expressive function and accounted for 5% of contributions across the three decades. They represented the creative dimension of New Education and served as amplifiers of the main message emanating from the theoretical base.

The author analysis also highlighted the gaps and absences among the participants in the field-creating process. Medical Experts, Parents and Social Workers consistently ranked last over the entire period. Although The New Era, particularly in the Thirties, professed interest in the 'whole child', clearly, this did not extend to children's physical welfare which received scant attention. Medicine, a traditional, conservative profession was hardly represented in the journal. In fact, New Education showed no concern for the physical conditions of children's welfare at a time of world economic

depression. Rather it abstracted consciousness from its material base in the curious elision of physical with mental well-being. In consequence, the vision of the abstracted child entailed the exclusion of economic considerations and of political analysis.

The New Era was not a forum for politicians or economists except on rare occasions which did not merit their inclusion in the classificatory scheme. The 'politics' of New Education was predicated on universalistic values which overrode national specifications and class divisions. The journal had no contributors from the field of production, for example industrialists, nor from commerce or banking, except for a rare career's article written from the perspective of industry.

The implication remained that, apart from the very rare contributions from the field of production or conservative, traditional professions, the majority of authors worked within the emergent caring professions and their academic supports. However, there were important links with the state at central government and local levels mainly through the educational administrators and a network of contacts established with education ministers. The NEF had no desire to change the economic structure or the social order, it generally ignored both. The Fellowship was intent on translating its newly established field of education from the voluntary to the state sector as part of its expansion and hegemonic project. According to a historian of New Education, it achieved recognition as the intellectual orthodoxy of the late 1930's. (Selleck, 1972)

The most revealing absence from the author categories was the negligible input from parents. The New Era attached great significance to the parental role, especially in the Thirties, when the change of title to The New Era in Home and School reflected this awareness. The absence of parental contributions made it clear that parents were perceived as recipients of New Education's pedagogic message rather than as

active participants in the creation of its discourse. Parental absence, in conjunction with the tendency towards increased specialization helps to identify The New Era as determined by professional expertise in the creation of its educational field. This increased level of specialization coincided with a shift in the balance of members of the NEF executive committee towards a narrower, more academic bias in the Forties. It is possible that the executive committee exerted some influence upon the orientation of The New Era in the last decade.

In The New Era and through the NEF, the specialised agencies of its field-creating discourse were brought together. Most of the author categories with the exception of Culturalists, Parents and Other - were employed by the central or local state. They worked in diverse institutional settings, including the school and local authority, universities and teacher-training colleges and the clinic. Their work was concerned with changing individuals and pedagogic practice. Thus the authors were centrally placed for the transmission of the new pedagogic messages through the interrelatedness of their functions. The journal must have considerably facilitated the flow of information between them. In addition, the NEF included among its members many of the best known educators of the period. They were an important indication of its scope and influence.

It is possible that the agencies and agents involved in creating this new discourse may have represented a major hegemonic influence in the field of education at the time. In the absence of more formal structures of communication New Education was a unique synthesis of agencies, pedagogies and practices that were integrated through a network of social relations connecting the lower and higher reaches of the state.

Finally, it is important to specify the role of women in the creation of New Education discourse. The analysis of the gender distribution of authors revealed that their contribution

did not rise above 35% in any period. The occupational spread of women authors was mainly confined to teaching, especially in the Twenties. This category was more concerned with reproducing New Education ideas in the classroom rather than creating the discourse. The range of the occupational distribution of women increased in the Thirties and Forties reflecting the national expansion of career opportunities for women. However, unlike male authors, they did not maintain dominance in any category across all three decades. The gender distribution confirmed the earlier impression that women played some part in the creation of New Education discourse, but men were the main protagonists.

CHAPTER 6

NEW EDUCATION DISCOURSE

1. Introduction

The content analysis documents the subject matter of the journal The New Era from 1920-1950. This was undertaken after an initial reading of the journal gave an impression of the dominant interests of New Education. One of the main concerns was with the promotion of anti-authoritarianism which underpinned much of the educational and psychological research in this period and for which psychoanalysis supplied the rationale. It gave a theoretical critique of the basis of authority as manifested in relations pertaining between the teacher, parent and child. The New Era was the first major and enduring education journal to be concerned with relationships between parents and schools in proposing new methods of child-rearing and parental cooperation within New Education.

This preliminary overview of the journal indicated that a fuller analysis would be of value. The content analysis was carried out to provide a more systematic base for inferences and to elicit the theoretical perspectives of the journal,created by the specialised group of professionals identified in the last chapter. The New Era was systematically examined by classifying every article in every issue in the thirty year period. This information provided the basis for a comprehensive assessment of the development of New Education, its theory and practice.

2. Method

2.1 Major Classification and Categories of the Analysis: Time, Perspectives and Applications

2.1.1 Time

The thirty year period covered by the content analysis was divided into three sections - 1920-29; 1930-39; and 1940-49.

The time division was not arbitrary. It was based on prior knowledge of the changes in institutional features and organisational arrangements outlined in chapter 2 and theoretico-ideological shifts within the NEF.

As was shown in earlier chapters, the universal personalism of the 1920's was predicated on charismatic leadership and an intense focus on individual development. Whereas the Thirties gave rise to a more formal, structured organisation which continued into the Forties. In the 1930's, there was attention to the relationship between the individual and society, home and school and to the formulation of theories of normal child development and adolescence.

The emphasis in the 1940's was internationalist. This period was dominated by the War which influenced the administration and approach of the NEF. There had been a shift away from the emancipatory concern with individual freedom in the Twenties to a primary focus on international understanding. The intention now was that education should provide the medium which would foster world peace and unity.

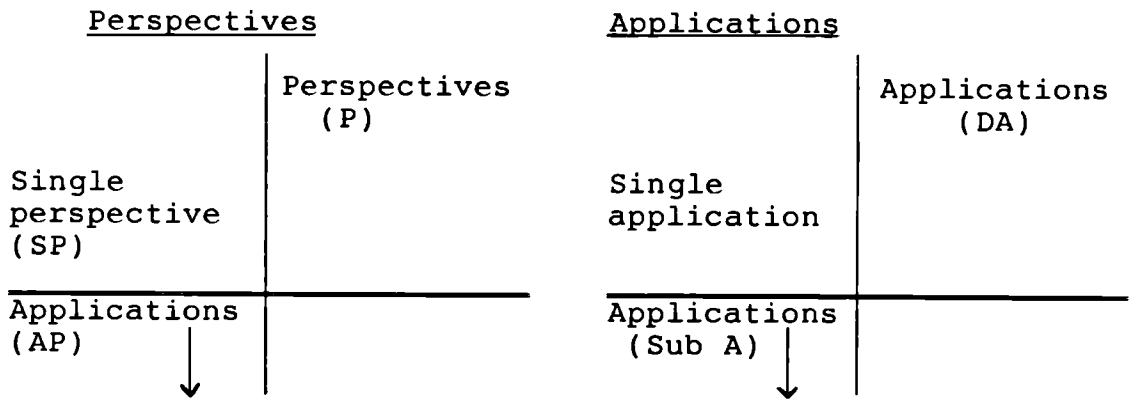
In order to obtain empirical measures of the content of The New Era which would be both revealing and economic, decisions had to be taken about the procedures to construct the content analysis. It is important to remember that the analysis covers 280 issues of the journal and approximately 1,500 articles. The content analysis had to meet two criteria. Firstly, that it would be sufficiently sensitive to reveal changing patterns of the informing disciplines and dominant concerns across the thirty year period. Secondly, that it could be conducted within the time perspective of the thesis as a whole.

2.1.2 Perspectives and Applications

A distinction is made between two different aspects of New Education, and articles were analysed accordingly: theoretical

Perspectives of New Education and its practical Applications. Within the category of perspectives, two basic divisions were made according to whether the article was confined to the discussion of one or more perspectives (P) or whether the article was an application of an explicit perspective (AP) to a practice (Curriculum), agency (Nursery school) or agent (Teacher).

Within the category of Applications, two basic divisions were also made according to whether the article contained a single application (SA) or whether there was more than one. If the article contained more than one application, these were divided into the dominant application (DA) and the major subsidiary application (SubA) (see later examples). It was considered that this dual classification of dominant/subsidiary permitted a sufficiently detailed assessment of the content of applications articles. The divisions are represented diagrammatically below as they will appear in the tables of results, one set for Perspectives and one set for Applications.



The Basic Sub-Categories

2.1.3 Perspectives

Five individual disciplines and three combined disciplines were distinguished.

1) **New Education** is the major informing discipline in all articles. As a single category, it incorporates various critiques of the authoritarian ethos of traditional education,

the work of the new pioneers in educational theory and method e.g. Montessori, Dalcroze, Decroly etc.. Teachers' reports of their classroom practice were included only if they were grounded in the theoretical disciplines.

2) New Psychology. This was similarly, an amalgam of different perspectives within psychology, which would range from mental measurement, seen as a meritocratic device, to research on delinquency and child development and adolescence. This category incorporated the work of clinical, academic and educational psychologists.

3) Psychoanalysis, referred especially to the work of Jung, Alcock and Adler in the 1920's and to the work of Klein's followers in the Thirties and Forties. Anna Freud wrote a number of articles for the journal in the Forties.

4) Religion. Given the theosophical origins of the NEF, it was expected that religion would form an intrinsic element of the New Education's theoretical field. In particular, the religious element followed the universal religions rather than the organised, established traditions and rituals of separate faiths.

5) Philosophy. This category covers articles dealing with philosophical concepts and issues such as freedom, peace, democracy, unity and transnationalism.

2.1.4 Combined Categories

1) New Education/New Psychology. This category demonstrated the interconnectedness of the two disciplines, that New Education was based on New Psychology. For an article to be classified under the joint heading, it must have discussed aspects of both. For example, an article on the value of psychology for education or one on creative self-expression in the classroom based on psychological principles.

2) New Education/Psychoanalysis. This joint category was reserved for educational practices based on psychoanalytic insights and included for example, some of the articles on co-education and sex education or the importance of psychoanalysis as a diagnostic aid for teachers.

3) New Psychology/Psychoanalysis. This conjunction of disciplines was rare but referred mainly to articles where there was a general reference to psychology which implied psychoanalytic as well as psychological ideas.

2.1.5 Perspectives and their Applications

Within the Perspectives, there were two basic divisions between one or more perspectives (P) and the application of a perspective (AP). The list of these applications now follows.

2.1.6 Applications

Sixteen applications represent the areas of practical concern of New Education. However, not all of these were adopted in each period.

1) Nursery
2) Primary

Levels of Education

3) Secondary

These three categories included articles describing different schools, specific institutional features or a general article about one of these levels of education.

4) School Organisation. This incorporated the practical arrangements of schools, school services (libraries, health etc) and also descriptions of New Education schools where all aspects of the school, its organisation, curriculum, administration, welfare were covered.

5) Home/School. This included organisations to encourage parental interest in, and co-operation with schools and various parent education schemes as well as articles about specific practices to promote good relations between parents and schools.

6) Curriculum This category referred to pedagogic contents. The majority of articles reflected upon traditional subject teaching. However, the articles that dealt with leisure, careers guidance, teaching aids and the use of 'modern' technology e.g. films or broadcasting in schools were also

included under this heading.

7) World Education. This was an important category given the internationalist orientation of the NEF. Frequently, whole issues were devoted to education in another country. In these, all aspects of education from pre-school to higher education, administration, research, national culture and curriculum would be discussed.

8) Self-Government/Citizenship. This was originally conceived as two separate categories of self-government and citizenship but there were too few entries under the separate headings so they were combined to form one category.

9) Authority/Delinquency. The categories of authority/discipline and delinquency were also initially separated. In the 1920's, New Education was predicated on anti-authoritarian principles and many New Education experiments, Lane's Little Commonwealth, for example, were conducted with delinquent populations. Although anti-authoritarianism proved to be a major concern in the journal, it was much less frequently the subject of an article. Consequently these two categories were merged into Authority/Delinquency.

10) Parents. Articles placed under this heading referred to parents only and were usually concerned about problem parents, for example, the authoritarian father or over-loving mother.

11) Parent/child. Parents were also initially sub-divided into parents, father and mother. This was based on the expectation that such a differentiation would be necessary because the critique of paternal authority was a preoccupation of the 1920's. However, few articles were devoted to individual family members. The content analysis revealed that New Education was only interested in the parental relationship insofar as it affected the child, hence the sub-divisions within the family proved unnecessary. Instead, two categories, parents and parent/child were adopted.

12) Problem Child This category was primarily concerned with children's emotional difficulties but it did occasionally include physical defects, such as deafness or speech difficulties. The growing interest in child guidance work in the 1930's is reflected in the number of articles devoted to

the treatment of problem children. These articles were placed under psychoanalysis (P) and problem child (PA) because the child guidance approach was informed by psychoanalysis.

13) Teacher. This category refers essentially to school teachers.

14) Physical Welfare. This category was added to cover the occasional article on health, hygiene and diet, although it had not originally been conceived as a relevant classification. Its inclusion provided an illuminating contrast between the journal's interest in physical welfare and mental hygiene.

The first fourteen categories were common to all three periods. The last two categories, War and Unemployment were introduced in the 1930's and War was extended to the Forties.

15) War. In the section on the Thirties, it was necessary to create a category to place articles dealing with issues of evacuation, wartime educational strategies and contingencies and plans for postwar reconstruction. The influence of the Second World War was charted through this category and further affected existing categories such as "citizenship" which was central to reconstruction plans and "problem child", with evacuation studies concentrating on the evidence of adverse effects on children's consequent separation from their mothers.

16) Unemployment This only applied to articles in the 1930's. In the context of world economic crisis, this category provided an indicator of the political sensitivity of the journal.

2.2 Examples of Coding of the Categories and their Sub-divisions

2.2.1 Perspectives

1) Single Perspectives (SP). An article on the Montessori approach or Dalcroze's eurythymics was classified as New Education (SP). An article on 'The true meaning of freedom' was classified under Philosophy (SP).

2) Applied Perspectives (AP). An article on child development discussing parent/child relations would be placed as New Psychology (P) and Parent/child (AP). An article on the educational value of psychoanalysis for teachers was classified

as New Education/Psychoanalysis (P) and Teacher (AP).

2.2.2 Applications

3) Single Applications (SA). Many schools practising New Education principles were described at length in the journal Articles on the all-through schools (from the ages of 3-14), included all the institutional features and arrangements of the school and were categorised under school organisation (SA). General articles referring to the teaching of specific subjects, science, classics, history etc were mostly placed under Curriculum (SA) unless these was a specific subsidiary application to, for example, Secondary schools.
4 & 5) Dominant (DA) and Subsidiary (SubA) Applications. There could be no dominant application without an attendant subsidiary application. An article describing self-government in a specific secondary school placed Self-government as the DA and Secondary as the SubA. A discussion of French primary schools was placed as World education (DA) and Primary (SubA).

2.3 Problems of the Classification

The content analysis involved an assessment of every article in every issue of The New Era from 1920-1950. The classification was assisted by the titles but the entire article was read in order to categorise it accurately. The focus on articles excluded the editorials from the analysis, except on the rare occasions when one was written by a guest editor on a specific topic, for example, by William Boyd on Parent Education. In general, the classification included all articles, regardless of length. This varied from half a page to ten pages but usually ranged from one to three pages. Reports on educational issues or conferences were counted as articles, so too were notes on different subjects such as educational aids or innovatory practices in different schools, such as the use of individual timetabling or the Dalton Plan. Each article was classified only once.

The classification system incorporated the Perspectives and Applications i.e. the theory and practical concerns of New Education. However, not all the articles could be coded in the existing sub-divisions. The placing or omission of problem classifications provides further illumination of the utilization of categories. In the first issues of the magazine, a children's corner was featured, usually with a story or short play and these were excluded. Some articles were omitted because they could not be coded under the existing headings and were too few in number to warrant the creation of a separate category. For example, there were two articles on higher education in Britain and one on nurses' educational training. Another on the work of the Scottish Educational Research Council was excluded because its work was not based on New Education principles.

There was no category to deal with the relationship between education and politics because this was on the whole ignored in the journal. This represents an important finding and confirms the apolitical posture of the NEF and its journal. There were two exceptions. One, was an article by Sir Fred Clarke, Director of the University of London Institute of Education, which examined the role of the state in educational policy. The other was by Professor Tawney of the London School of Economics on education and the economic order. Both articles were omitted. However, an article on school and society in the Soviet Union was categorised as World education (SA). The subject of New Education and world peace was placed under New Education (P) and World education (AP).

There was occasional interest in children's toys based on psychological principles of play. Such articles were categorised as New Psychology (SP), whereas lists of suggested Christmas books or advice on nursery furniture were excluded. Generally, anything on the family was covered by parent/child plus any other appropriate heading. An article entitled 'Education, Social Change and Persons' dealt with the relationship between education and the family and was coded as

New Education (P) and Parent/child (AP). A general article on 'Relationships' was classified as New Psychology (SP).

In the 1940's, the Children's Charter drew its initial inspiration from an NEF conference. Similarly, the idea of establishing the organisation UNESCO originated from another Fellowship conference. Articles on both were coded as New Education/New Psychology (P) and World education (AP) Articles on examinations was placed under New Education (P) and Curriculum (AP). Overall, less than twenty articles out of almost 1,500 were unclassifiable and a further thirty presented a problem for classification but were eventually coded.

2.4 Reliability of Coding

Ideally, a measure of reliability should have been based upon a check of the allocation of articles to the various categories. Ideally, the check should have been conducted by at least two other coders. However, the size of each journal, between 50-90 pages long, made it difficult to find a coder prepared to take on such an onerous task involving detailed reading of each article. Of course, it is possible to take a sample of the journal in each historical period but that would still involve a very time consuming activity for the coder.

The classification of single perspectives (individual or combined) and single applications is self-evident. In the case of applied perspectives (AP), the classification of the perspective is clear and as these articles are theoretical articles, the application is usually to a general area of concern similar to articles classified under single applications. There was also no difficulty in identifying the dominant application in the Applications tables. It was only subsidiary applications that could represent a coding ambiguity in the event of having to choose between more than one.

By chance, an opportunity arose to provide some evidence of the reliability of the coding. The content analysis was

performed once with an initial set of categories but it was decided to change some of the categories and to clarify the coding principles so that an article was only coded once. A further problem with the initial classification scheme was that it did not clearly distinguish between the Perspectives and Applications, between single and applied perspectives and between single and dominant/subsidiary applications. The analysis was re-run using the new classification scheme outlined in the method section. This second run clarified the structural principles of the analysis and of the categories. Moreover, the results of the second run were similar to the original classification, thus providing some evidence of the reliability of the coding.

2.5 Reading the Tables

2.5.1 Raw Data Tables

Raw data tables were constructed separately for Perspectives and Applications for each of the three periods, 1920's, 1930's and 1940's. These tables summarise the findings under the various categories subsumed under the general heading of Perspectives and Applications. These tables will be found in Appendix 7 and reference will be made to these. It will be necessary to use them to refer to columns showing the way perspectives combine with their applications in the Perspectives summary data tables. Similarly, reference will be made to the Applications Tables to show how dominant applications combine with subsidiary applications.

For the purpose of this analysis, further tables were derived from the summary tables in order to draw attention to crucial patterns in the data for both Perspectives and Applications in each of the three periods. Thus for each period, the following data is displayed.

2.5.2 Perspectives

One table shows the distribution of single and applied perspectives and the range of applications for each

perspective. The range score is important as it shows the influence of the perspective upon a range of practical concerns. The second table is concerned with the selected effects of each application upon the perspectives. Whereas in the first table the influence of a perspective across a range of different applications is shown, here the concern is to show how a particular application attracts perspectives. In this way it is possible to rank applications with respect to the perspectives it calls out. Thus we may find that certain applications are very much the focus whilst others are less so.

2.5.3 Applications

The basic format of the Applications table is similar to the format for the Perspectives tables. In the same way that the Perspectives tables show the changing patterns of the discursive base of New Education so the Applications table will show the changing patterns of its dominant applications. In the case of the perspectives tables, distinctions were made between single and applied perspectives. In the case of the Applications table, the distinctions are between single and dominant/subsidiary applications. If the application is not single, then there will always be more than one and the coding distinguishes between the dominant and what is taken to be the subsidiary application. The Perspectives table include a range score showing the range of applications for each perspective. The equivalent in the case of the Applications table, would be to show the range of subsidiary applications for each dominant application. However, it was not considered that this level of delicacy is required. If necessary, it is possible to read off the range score from the raw data tables in Appendix 7.

Thus the Applications table shows the pattern of single, dominant and subsidiary applications. The latter category is important as it shows the power of subsidiary applications on the dominant practical concerns of New Education.

2.6 The Purpose of this Analysis

The purpose of the empirical analysis is to provide a substantive base for constructing the changing discourse of New Education that is, its perspectives and its areas of practical concern, that is, its applications. In Chapter 1, it was shown that historians of New Education tended to define New Education negatively, identifying its oppositional status rather than its positive qualities. Further, there was little or no analysis of the disciplines which provided its theoretical base and their interconnections, nor of their relation to practical concerns. The analysis will also show the importance of distinguishing between applications explicitly influenced by disciplines and applications which make no direct reference to any perspective. Thus one of the aims of the analysis to follow is to supplement, deepen and extend the historical research.

A further aim of this analysis is to discover whether the hypothesis concerning New Education's emancipatory interests receives support through an examination of the content of articles in The New Era. Finally, the analysis will test the time divisions introduced in Chapter 2 based upon changes in institutional, organisational and ideological features by examining a possible correlation with changes in the discourse of The New Era between 1920 and 1950.

3. Results

3.1 Introduction

The content analysis covered almost every article in The New Era from 1920-1950 (with the few exceptions noted in sub-section 2.3 above). Each article was read and classified only once in the most appropriate category. The results have been tabulated for each decade consisting of the tables for Perspectives and one table for Applications (see the previous section for a guide to the tables). The totals presented for the 1930's have been adjusted as in the author analysis (Chapter 5).

The discussion of the results will assess the pattern of New Education discourse within and between the three periods. The analysis of each period begins with an examination of perspectives articles. These are sub-divided into four categories:

i) Total Perspectives
ii) Single Perspectives
iii) Applied Perspectives
iv) Range of Applications

Similarly, the discussion of Applications articles will be divided into four component parts as follows:

i) Total Applications
ii) Single Applications
iii) Dominant Applications
iv) Subsidiary Applications.

Finally, the relationship between perspectives and applications is considered within each period. This format is repeated for every decade.

3.2 Perspectives, 1920's

Table 1: Perspectives and their Applications, 1920's

1920's	Perspectives → New Education	New Psychology	Psycho-analysis	Religion	Philosophy	New Ed.+ New Ψ	New Ed. + Psychoanal.	New Ψ + Psychoanal.	Total	% of total articles
Single Perspectives (without application)	21	2	11	1	11	22	8	3	79	28
(i) %	27	2	14	1	14	28	10	4	100	
Applied Perspectives	98	13	18	8	10	40	11	1	199	72
(ii) %	49	7	9	4	5	20	5.5	0.5	100	
Total Perspectives (i + ii)	119	15	29	9	21	62	19	4	278	100
(iii) %	43	5	11	3	8	22	7	1	100	
Range of Perspectives (iv)	10	5	5	2	4	10	3	1		

Table 2: Selected Effects of Applications on Perspectives, 1920's

Applications ---------->

1920's	Nursery	Primary	Secondary	School Organisation	Home/School	Curriculum	World Education	Self-Government Citizenship	Authority/ Delinquency	Parents	Parent/Child	Problem Child	Teacher	Physical Welfare	TOTAL
Number of Applied perspectives Articles (AP)	3	9		11		75	34	8	20		2	14	14	9	199
% of total AP articles	1.5	4.5		5.5		38	17	4	10		1	7	7	4.5	100

3.2.1 Total Perspectives, (Table 1.iii)

It is clear that New Education was the controlling perspective accounting for 43% of total perspective articles. This increased to 72% if New Education's combinations with New Psychology and Psychoanalysis are included. It is noteworthy that Psychoanalysis with 11% of the articles took second place followed by Philosophy, 8% New Psychology, 5% and Religion with only 3% of the articles. The major interest in the combined perspectives is provided by the combination of New Education/New Psychology with 22% and perhaps the rarity of the combination New Psychology/ Psychoanalysis.

New Education was firmly established in the Twenties and represented the controlling discipline of the new discourse. It served as a major selecting principle that determines how the discourse changes. Further, it incorporated a critique of the existing educational system, proposed new approaches to method and attempted to create a new educational environment. New Education drew heavily upon New Psychology (but not as a separate field), Psychoanalysis to a lesser extent,followed by Philosophy and drew least upon Religion. It will be seen that the relations between the informing perspectives change over the period of this analysis.

3.2.2 Single Perspectives, (Table 1.i)

Just over one quarter of all articles are concerned with perspectives without applications i.e. single perspectives, which provide the theoretical base of New Education discourse. On inspection of Table 1, it is clear that the major single perspective (SP) was New Education with 27% followed by Philosophy and Psychoanalysis with 14% of the articles each. New Psychology as a discrete specialised field accounts for only 2% of SP articles. Thus it would seem that New Psychology as an independent intellectual discipline played little part in the 1920's in the formation of the theoretical base of New Education discourse.

Religion constitutes a mere 1% of SP articles. This is surprising given the role of the Theosophical Society in launching the Fellowship and Mrs Ensor's own commitment which surfaces in many of her editorials. The low percentage of articles from a religious perspective corroborates the earlier view that this was part of a deliberate editorial policy to suppress its religious origins. In this period, Mrs Ensor aimed to create a science of New Education and broaden the base of the movement and its discourse. It may be that Philosophy took over the function of Religion in the 1920's, by providing a justification of New Education principles.

The distribution of SP articles in the combined perspectives reveals a different relationship between New Psychology and Psychoanalysis. It is clear that New Education was much more likely to be combined with New Psychology, 28% than Psychoanalysis with 10% of SP articles. New Education, including its combination categories, accounted for 65% of SP articles. New Psychology/Psychoanalysis was a rare combination accounting for only 4% of SP articles. The majority of articles in this combination category were SP (3 out of 4) indicating that most of them were concerned to establish the relationship between the two psychological perspectives.

As the above indicates, the relationship between New Education and the psychological perspectives is complex in this period. Whilst New Psychology in conjunction with New Education as a combined category ranked second in the distribution of total perspectives articles, as a separate perspective, it ranked only sixth. Thus, despite its importance in conjunction with New Education, New Psychology as a specialised discrete discourse had not yet been launched as an independent perspective.

Psychoanalysis ranked third and as an independent perspective, offered a theoretical base for the anti-authoritarian ethos on which the critique of the existing education system rested. Psychoanalysis also provided an

explanation of problems of childhood management, itself contributing to the critique both of the family and the school. Psychoanalysis in conjunction with New Education ranked fifth. These articles were mostly concerned with the issue of co-education. New Education advocated co-education as an intrinsic feature of the natural educative environment and essential to the child's freedom of development. Psychoanalysis offered a theoretical rationale for co-education. The few articles in the category New Psychology/ Psychoanalysis were concerned with the general importance of psychology for New Education.

New Education articles, accounting for 72% of all perspectives articles, aimed to free the child from all authoritarian constraints and were concerned with the need to provide an educative atmosphere to facilitate freedom and natural development. These articles laid the basis for what has been referred to as an emancipatory pedagogy and, Philosophy provided in its articles a theoretical base for the concept of the new freedom. The absence of articles from a religious perspective demonstrated the extent to which, initially, the religious origins of the journal were suppressed.

In the 1920's, New Education as a pedagogic discourse can best be described as a "pedagogic bricolage" because of its unique combination of perspectives. Atkinson (1985) borrows the concept of bricolage from Levi-Strauss using it to describe the construction of pedagogic discourse from "a mixed bag of theory". It implies "the cobbling together of whatever bits and pieces are to hand" (Atkinson 1985:159). In the process of constructing a discourse, "elements are de-contextualised from their original location and then re-contextualised into a new assemblage" (ibid:171). This movement can be seen in New Education discourse in the 1920's. Table 1 shows that the individual perspectives contributed 70% of the total perspectives articles and thus to the pedagogic bricolage of New Education discourse.

3.2.3 Applied Perspectives, (Table 1.ii and Table 2)

Again, New Education is the crucial informing perspective which together with its combination categories, accounts for 74.5% of AP articles. New Education as a perspective has a far greater range than any other perspective as Table 1 shows. The discipline which informs New Education in its applications is New Psychology. Table 2 shows the concrete concerns of these applications where Curriculum, 38% and World Education, 17% predominate. Together, Authority/delinquency and Problem child cover 17% and Teacher, school organisation follow with 7% and 5.5% of AP articles.

In the 1920's, the AP's are overwhelmingly those of New Education in which its emancipatory concerns are applied to broad issues of the contents of the curriculum and internationalism (World education), abnormal child development, teacher and schools. There was little or no interest in Home/school, Parents or Parent/child. There was also little concern with institutions in this period. Rather the focus was upon emancipatory principles, processes and diagnoses. New Psychology focused upon discipline in the context of delinquency and Psychoanalysis addressed authority relations within the family.

3.2.4 Range of Applications, (Table 1.iv)

Most of the perspectives covered a range of applications. New Education and New Education/New Psychology covered the greatest range of 10 applications each of which 9 overlapped. New Psychology and psychoanalysis were spread across 5 applications and both covered curriculum, authority/ delinquency and problem child. Religion was applied only to curriculum and world education. New Psychology/psychoanalysis had just one AP to the teacher.

3.3 Applications 1920's, (Table 3)

Table 3: Applications, 1920's

Applications ----------→

	Nursery	Primary	Secondary	School Organization	Home/School	Curriculum	World Education	Self-Govern/ Citizenship	Authority/ Delinquency	Parents	Parent/Child	Problem Child	Teacher	Physical Welfare	TOTAL	% of total articles
Single Applications	3	4		20		30	30	11	5				3	2	108	53
(i)	3	4		19		27	27	10	5				3	2	100	
Dominant Applications		4	10	1		31	39	9			1		3		98	47
(ii)		4	10	1		32	40	9			1		3		100	
Subsidiary Applications	3	16	26	32	1	12	4		2	1				1	98	
(iii)	3	16	27	33	1	12	4		2	1				1	100	
Total Applications (i + ii)	3	8	10	21		61	69	20	5		1		6	2	206	100
(iv)	115	4	5	10		30	33	10	2		0.5		3	1	100	

3.3.1 Total Applications, (Table 3.iv)

Table 3, Applications, represents the essentially practical dimension of New Education. All the applications articles are descriptive accounts of specific practices (Self-government/citizenship, Curriculum), agencies (Nursery, Primary) agents (Teacher, Parents). The analysis of applications is complex because it incorporates three terms. The single application articles are more general and abstract, for example on Nursery education or education in France. The articles classified under dominant (DA) and subsidiary (SubA) headings are more specific such as history teaching in secondary schools. This article would be coded as Curriculum (DA) and secondary (SubA).

World education and Curriculum were the most important applications accounting for almost two-thirds of the total articles. It is noteworthy that they were also the most important applied perspective categories in the Perspective table (table 2). The World education articles described New Education practices in an international context. Their importance underlined the serious intention of The New Era to promote internationalism. The Curriculum articles were written mostly by teachers who described curriculum experiments in the classroom. At this stage, most of these articles were written by teachers in private schools. However, as the Twenties progressed, a few articles came from teachers carrying out similar experiments in state schools. Self-government/ citizenship peaked in the Twenties, with 10% of the total applications, Freedom in education implied self-regulation and these articles described successful attempts to introduce self-government in schools. Again, these experiments were carried out in predominantly private sector secondary schools.

3.3.2 Single Applications, (Table 3.i)

Single application articles account for 53% of total applications. The greater proportion of SA articles suggested

a high level of generality in the content of articles. Most of these SA articles were concentrated in the categories of curriculum and world education, school organisation, and self government/citizenship. Many of the world education SA's were introductory articles for special issues featuring education in other countries, for example, France. Prior to the International NEF conferences, an issue would be devoted to education in the host country.

The SA's accounted for almost half of the world education total. The curriculum SA's also constituted half of the curriculum total and consisted of general articles about curriculum innovations without any reference to a specific level of schooling. Almost all the school organisation articles were SA's and described particular schools which most often were all-through schools, especially in the private sector where New Education began. Over half of the self-government/ citizenship category consisted of SA's concerned with self-government practices as an important introduction to practices of democratic citizenship.

3.3.3 Dominant Applications, (Table 3.ii)

The distribution of dominant applications follows closely the distribution of single applications but emphasises especially the significance of World education. Although there are no SA's for the category Secondary, 10% of DA's fall into this category. It seems that the discussion of the secondary school in this period was not at the level of general, de-contextualised analysis but more located in specific schools.

3.3.4 Subsidiary Applications, (Table 3.iii)

Table 3 demonstrates the selected effects of subsidiary applications on dominant applications. The major SubA was School organisation which accounted for 33% of the SubA total. School organisation was subsidiary to World education (18 articles) and to a lesser extent to primary (4) and secondary

(10) in a number of issues devoted to primary and secondary schools.

The institutional categories of secondary and primary schools ranked second and third respectively. They were much more important as SubA's, together accounting for 46% of the SubA total (including Nursery). The institutional features of schools were rarely the major descriptive focus of articles which explains the smaller proportion of DA's in these categories and their absence from the applied perspective articles in the Perspective table (Table 2). In general, most of the primary and secondary articles were subsidiary to Curriculum as a DA. Curriculum ranked fourth as a SubA and was linked to world education. The decision was made to count world education as the DA and curriculum as the subsidiary because the majority of such articles discussed aspects of the curriculum in the context of education in another country eg. Drama in a Danish folk high school. The main thrust of the article, and indeed the issue was world education (DA) with curriculum as the SubA. World education was never placed as a SubA in an issue devoted to education in another country.

Thus the orientation of subsidiary applications was overwhelmingly educational. As with the total applications, there was almost no attention to the familial categories. Only 2 SubA articles were classified in these categories. One was on home-school co-operation in America and the other gave parents advice on sex education.

3.4 The Relationship Between the Perspectives and Applications, 1920's

In the 1920's, the discursive field of New Education was first assembled in The New Era. The total number of articles classified for this period was 484. This divided into 278 articles in the Perspectives table (table 1) and 206 in the Applications table (table 3). Thus the balance was skewed towards establishing the theoretical dimension of New

Education. The Perspectives comprised 57% of the total articles and the Applications 43% of the total articles. Given the preponderance of teachers writing articles in this period, it is likely that many of the Perspective articles were written by teachers.

Within the Perspectives table (table 1), the specialised orientation of the Perspectives articles emerged in the relatively high proportion of single perspective articles (28%). These SP articles were generated with the construction of the discourse. Similarly, within the Applications table (table 3), there was a higher proportion of single application articles. These represented more abstract and generalised areas of concern and comprised 53% of the applications total. It seems that there is a structural homology between the SP and SA articles insofar as both are more concerned with the construction of the discourse.

Both the Perspectives and Applications tables demonstrate the aim of The New Era to promote international and experimental education through the major applications of World education and Curriculum. Whereas, in the Perspectives table, Curriculum was the major AP, in the Applications table, it was World education. This implies that the perspectives articles were more concerned to promote experimental education and the applications articles to promote international education. However, there were also crucial differences between the tables in the importance that was attached to other applications. The attention to familial applications (Parents, Parent/child and Problem child) was consigned to the applied perspectives articles whereas the Applications articles were almost exclusively educational. Conversely, the institutional categories were rarely found in the Perspectives table but featured as important subsidiary applications in the Applications table.

The emancipatory concerns which characterise New Education in this period, attempt to free the child from authoritarian

constraints. The Perspectives tables contain those articles where the emancipatory pedagogy criticises authoritarian relationships, in the coding categories of Authority/ delinquency, Self-government/citizenship, Teacher and Problem child. The Applications table describes the within-school applications of the emancipatory pedagogy, principally in the coding categories of school organisation and Self-government/ citizenship.

3.5 Perspectives, 1930's

Table 4 Perspectives and their Applications, 1930's (Adjusted Totals)

1930's	Perspectives → New Education	New Psychology	Psycho-analysis	Religion	Philosophy	New Ed.+ New Ψ	New Ed. + Psychoanal.	New Ψ + Psychoanal.	Total	% of total articles
Single Perspectives (without application)	12	17	6	7	5	8	2		57	24
(i) %	21	30	10	12	9	14	3		100	
Applied Perspectives	81	48	20	4	7	10	3	3	176	76
(ii) %	46	27	11	2	4	6	2	2	100	
Total Perspectives (i + ii)	93	65	26	11	12	18	5	3	233	100
(iii) %	40	28	11	5	5	8	2	1	100	
Range of Perspectives (iv)	15	14	6	3	5	9	3	2		

Table 5: Selected Effects of Applications on Perspectives, 1930's (Adjusted Totals)

Applications ---------->

1930's	Nursery	Primary	Secondary	School Organization	Home/School	Curriculum	World Education	Self-Govern. Citizenship	Authority/ Delinquency	Parents	Parent/Child	Problem Child	Teacher	Physical Welfare	War	Unemployment	TOTAL
Number of applied perspective articles AP	8	3	7	2	9	30	31	7	15	3	26	15	6	2	10	2	176
% of total AP articles	5	2	4	1	5	17	18	4	8	2	15	8	3	1	6	1	100

3.5.1 Total Perspectives, (Table 4.iii)

The total perspectives presented a different picture in the 1930's. The greatest change occurred in the category of New Psychology which now emerges as a distinctive discipline, ranking second with 28% of the Perspectives total. The dramatic rise from 5% to 28% was mainly a consequence of a new concentration on the family with the growth of theories of child development. New Psychology replaced Psychoanalysis as the major informing psychological perspective, more than doubling the input of Psychoanalysis which remained at its Twenties level of 11%.

Compared to the 1920's, there is a sharp drop in the percentage of articles in the combined perspectives categories. Whereas, in the Twenties, combined perspectives articles represented 30% of the perspectives, in the Thirties they represent only 11%. The major fall occurs in the reduction of New Education/New Psychology from 22% to 8%. The decline in the combination New Education/Psychoanalysis in the 1930's was probably because, unlike in the Twenties, co-education no longer excited interest.

New Education as the controlling discipline constituted 40% of the perspectives total. The input from Philosophy dropped to fifth rank whereas the religious content increased slightly revealing a more open attitude to religion. Certainly,at the 1936 Cheltenham Conference, the spiritual aspect of freedom was a central concern. Many of the articles on Religion derived from this conference.

Individual perspectives (i.e. the non-combined categories) together accounted for 89% of the total perspectives. This represented a higher proportion than the 1920's. Conversely the combination categories only accounted for 11% of the total perspectives articles in this period. In general, the reduced proportion of the combination categories implied the crystallization of the Perspectives constituting the pedagogic

bricolage of New Education into discrete disciplines. It seemed as if there was a change of objectives implied in the shift away from the integrative function of New Education towards a separation of the disciplines within its intellectual field. Perhaps the general progress and expansion of the NEF encouraged this diversification.

3.5.2 Single Perspectives, (Table 4.i)

There was a slight fall in the percentage of SP articles from 28% in the Twenties to 24% in the Thirties and a concomitant rise in applied perspective articles from 72 to 76%. This implies a more practical orientation of articles. The proportion of SP articles fell in the categories of New Education, Psychoanalysis and Philosophy and increased in the categories of New Psychology, Religion and New Education/New Psychology.

The greatest change occurs in New Psychology which increased from 2% in the Twenties to 30% of the SP total in the Thirties. Religion increased from 1% to 12% reflecting a more open discussion of religion in this period. It is conceivable that religion was discussed more openly because it was clear that New Education had now established its broader theoretical base and credentials.

It is of considerable interest to find the reversal in the relation of New Education to New Psychology in the Thirties which has been alluded to above. In this period, New Psychology stands on its own as an independent perspective and is much less frequently combined with New Education. Further, there is no relationship between New Psychology and Psychoanalysis as shown in the absence of SP articles in the Combination category.

3.5.3 Applied Perspectives, (Table 4.ii and Table 5)

The distribution of applied perspectives is very similar

to the 1920's with the exception of New Psychology. In the earlier period, New Psychology as an independent perspective generated only 7% of PA's but in the Thirties, there was a dramatic increase to 27% of the AP total.

A different pattern of AP's emerged in the Thirties, which was more diffuse and achieved a greater spread of applications across all the coding categories (see Table 4). This indicates a more applied orientation in this period. World Education and Curriculum are still dominant concerns but whereas the percentage for World education remained virtually the same as in the Twenties, the percentage for Curriculum is now only half the total of the Twenties.

It is a matter of interest that Unemployment and Physical welfare account for no more than 2% of the AP total in a time of world economic crisis, thereby confirming the apolitical posture of the New Education Fellowship and the sole interest of New Education discourse in pedagogics. The Fellowship mostly ignored the prevailing socio-political structure to the extent that, in the mid-Thirties, it organised a conference on Leisure. However, with the onset of the Second World War, the NEF developed a more pragmatic attitude and began to make plans for coping with the exigencies of the war.

3.5.4 Range of Applications, (Table 4.iv)

In the Thirties, the perspectives covered a much greater range of applications. New Education with a range score of 15 and New Psychology with 14 shared almost all the applications categories. In other respects, the pattern of the Thirties is similar to that of the Twenties. It is clear that the principles of New Education now cover almost all the range of concerns and New Psychology is providing the scientific base.

3.6 Applications, 1930's

Table 6: Applications, 1930's (Adjusted Totals)

Applications ---------->

	Nursery	Primary	Secondary	School Organization	Home/School	Curriculum	World Education	Self-Govern, Citizenship	Authority/ Delinquency	Parents	Parent/Child	Problem Child	Teacher	Physical Welfare	Unemployment	War	TOTAL	% of total articles
Single Applications	4	2	2	10	1	49	26	1	1			1	2	3		2	104	38
(i)	4	2	2	9	1	47	25	1	1			1	2	3		2	100	
Dominant Applications	3	1	1	9	1	80	65	3	2			1	6				170	62
(ii)	2	0.5	0.5	5	0.5	47	37	2	1			0.5	4				100	
Subsidiary Applications	6	35	53	6	4	31	2	15	2	1	2	2	8	3				
(iii)	4	20.5	31	4	2	18	1	9	1	0.5	1	1	5	2			170	
Total Applications (i + ii)	7	3	3	19	2	129	89	4	3			2	8	3		2	274	100
(iv)	3	1	1	7	1	47	32	1	1			1	3	1		1	100	

3.6.1 Total Applications, (Table 6.iv)

Curriculum and World education continue to be the major areas of concern. However, whereas the percentage of total applications for World education remains very similar in the 1930's to the percentage in the 1920's, there is a considerable increase in the case of Curriculum. Curriculum rises from 30% in the Twenties to 47% in the Thirties, now covering almost half of the total applications articles. Together, Curriculum and World education constituted 79% of total applications.

A close reading of the Curriculum articles revealed that many more were written by teachers in state schools than was the case in the Twenties. The overwhelming interest in the Curriculum in this period suggests that this was one area in which New Education could most easily be introduced into state schools. With many more articles appearing in The New Era from teachers in state schools, it seems as if teachers had sufficient autonomy in determining their classroom practice to adopt the pedagogic methods of New Education with reasonable success in the framework of a traditional school.

There seems to be a major fall in interest in Self-government/citizenship in the Thirties. Whereas, in the Twenties, this category attracted 10% of total articles, it now attracted only 1%. In general, there was a shift from the pedagogic environment of the school towards a more intensive focus upon the content of New Education, that is, the Curriculum.

3.6.2 Single Applications, (Table 6.i)

There was a significant drop in the over-all percentage of SA articles from 53% to 38%. The content of articles in this period was less general and abstract. Almost two-thirds of the articles were more contextualised and specific. The highest concentration of SA articles appeared in the category of Curriculum where there were general articles on subject

teaching without reference to any institutional level.

3.6.3 Dominant Applications, (Table 6.ii)

In comparison with the 1920's, there is a fall in DA's to Nursery, Primary and Secondary schools and a marked reduction in applications to Self-government/citizenship. This is a reflection of the drop in these institutional categories alluded to under total applications.

3.6.4 Subsidiary Applications, (Table 6.iii)

In the 1930's, subsidiary applications covered 14 out of 16 coding categories whereas in the 1920's, only 10 out of 14 were filled. The most important SubA's were the institutional categories of primary and secondary which accounted for 51.5% of the total as compared with 43% in the Twenties. However, the major change is in the category School organisation. In the earlier period it was 33% of total SubA's but now in the Thirties, drops to only 4%. This change occurs as a result of a coding classification change. In the Twenties, there were more articles about all-through schools that covered the age range 3-13 and these were classified as school organisation (SubA). In the Twenties, more articles were written about primary and secondary schools and thus the coding switched to the relevant institutional headings.

Curriculum, relative to the Twenties, is more important and so is the category of Teacher. Curriculum tended to be subsidiary to World education in articles on aspects of the curriculum in different countries. It is a matter of interest that Curriculum in the Thirties, accounted for nearly 50% of SA's, 47% of DA's and 18% of SubA's.

3.7 The Relationship between the Perspectives and Applications, 1930's

The Thirties was a period of expansion and consolidation

of NEF activities. The total number of articles classified for this period was 508. This divided into 233 in the Perspectives table (table 4) and 274 in the Applications table (table 6). Thus the orientation of the articles was more towards the practical dimension of New Education. Applications constituted 54% of the total articles and Perspectives 46% of the total articles. This trend towards practical concerns is also confirmed within both the Perspectives and Applications tables where the applied perspectives articles represent 76% of the Perspectives total and the dominant applications represent 62% of the Applications total. Thus articles in this period were more applied and context-specific.

This period was distinctively different from the Twenties. In many respects the Thirties represented the testing ground for the theories that evolved in the Twenties. As a consequence, the percentage of single perspective and single application articles was lower. There was greater attention to the familial applications of Parents, Parent/child and Problem child in the Perspectives table with 30% of the AP's directed to the family. This was at a time when both New Psychology and Psychoanalysis converged on the family. However the Applications articles did not focus on the family and were overwhelmingly educational in their orientation.

However, it is clear that in the Thirties, Curriculum was relatively much more important than World education. It is possible to throw more light upon the significance of Curriculum by considering the summary data tables 3 and 4 in Appendix 7. From these tables it can be seen that New Education as a perspective was mainly applied to Curriculum in discussions of the elaboration of principles. Whereas Curriculum as a dominant application carried subsidiaries relating to practical experiments in curricular development in primary and secondary schools.

3.8 Perspectives, 1940's

Table 7: Perspectives and their Applications, 1940's

1940's	Perspectives → New Education	New Psychology	Psycho-analysis	Religion	Philosophy	New Ed.+ New Ψ	New Ed. + Psychoanal.	New Ψ + Psychoanal.	Total	% of total articles
Single Perspectives (without application)	17	8	25	3	7	10			70	27
(i) %	25	11	36	4	10	14			100	
Applied Perspectives	114	5	37	5	11	18			190	73
(ii) %	60	3	19	3	6	9			100	
Total Perspectives (i + ii)	131	13	62	8	18	28			260	100
(iii) %	50	5	24	3	7	11			100	
Range of Perspectives (iv)	13	5	5	4	4	8				

Table 8: Selected Effects of Applications on Perspectives, 1940's

1940's	Nursery	Primary	Secondary	School Organisation	Home/School	Curriculum	World Education	Self-Govern. Citizenship	Authority/ Delinquency	Parents	Parent/Child	Problem Child	Teacher	Physical Welfare	War	TOTAL
Number of PA	4	3	5	7	2	18	47	11	6	2	9	16	19	4	37	190
% of total PA articles	2	2	3	4	1	9	25	6	3	1	5	8	10	2	19	100

3.8.1 Total Perspectives, (Table 7.iii)

The 1940's presented a different distribution of perspectives articles from the 1930's but there is a greater resemblance to the 1920's. The major shift occurs in the relationship between the psychological perspectives. New Psychology dropped back to its Twenties level with an input of only 5%. This neglected the displacement of New Psychology from familial applications. New Psychology reverted back to its former association with New Education and to educational applications. The combination New Education/New Psychology increased slightly from 8% to 11%.

Psychoanalysis now replaces New Psychology as the major psychological perspective underpinning New Education. In the Forties, Psychoanalysis ranked second with 24% of the perspective articles. It provided the explanatory framework which governed wartime strategies towards the family and also official solutions to the crisis within the family evoked by wartime conditions. This represented a new function for Psychoanalysis and one which conceivably demonstrated he development and influence of the discipline between the two world wars. Presumably, the Kleinian influence which was reflected in The New Era now offered a more appropriate model than the theories of Jung, Adler and Alcock which prevailed in the Twenties.

The combined perspectives of New Education/ Psychoanalysis and New Psychology/Psychoanalysis which in the 1920's and 1930's amounted to 8% of total perspectives now, in the Forties are both empty categories. Only the combination New Education/New Psychology remained with 11% of total perspectives. This represents a small increase from the Thirties level of 8%. The two empty categories further confirm the trend towards the crystallization of the disparate disciplines and the separation of New Education as an intellectual field. Now in the Forties, New Education accounts for 61% of total Perspectives attaining the highest percentage

of all the three decades.

3.8.2 Single Perspectives, (Table 7.i)

The total percentage of single perspective articles is 27% which is near to the percentage of the 1920's, 28%. Psychoanalysis accounts for 36% of the SP total attaining the highest proportion of SP articles in any period. These articles gave the theoretical base of Kleinian psychoanalysis and constituted just over one-third of total articles from a psychoanalytic perspective. New Psychology dropped to 11%. However, it should be noted that in comparison with other perspectives, most of New Psychology articles are single perspective only. It would seem that New Psychology as a discipline, functions as a resource for general principles and explanations rather than as a resource for their application.

3.8.3 Applied Perspectives, (Tables 7.ii and Table 8)

The distribution of applied perspectives articles was more concentrated in the Forties than in the Thirties, but more diverse than those of the Twenties. World education was the most popular applied perspective constituting 25% of the AP total. It was predominantly linked to New Education and reflected the journal's attempt to foster a new internationalist ethos through the promotion of comparative education. The War ranked second as was to be expected in this period and was also linked with New Education. These articles discussed strategies for democratic reconstruction through education. The category Curriculum which ranked first in the Twenties and second in the Thirties, dropped to fourth rank in the Forties comprising only 9% of the AP articles. It was superseded by the War and Teacher in this period. The least popular AP's were Home/school and Parents.

There were fewer familial applications in the Forties (table 8). The attention to the family revolved around the Problem child and was more specifically directed to the crisis

within the family consequent on wartime conditions. This proved to be the major area for discussion of the mother/child relationship. Such articles were placed in the combination of Psychoanalysis and the War (15 articles). This category was not included in the estimation of 15% of the P.A. total devoted to familial applications (Parents, Parent/child and Problem child).

3.8.4 Range of Applications, (Table 7.iv)

There is a greater restriction on the relation between perspectives and their applications because of the reduction in the number of combination categories. The pattern is remarkably similar to the pattern in the 1920's (table 1). As in all periods, New Education had the greatest range of applications. The applications of Psychoanalysis, as in the other two decades, were to problems of adjustment directly or indirectly linked to the family.

3.9 Applications, 1940's

Table 9: Applications, 1940's

Applications ----------→

	Nursery	Primary	Secondary	School Organization	Home/School	Curriculum	World Education	Self-Govern. Citizenship	Authority/ Delinquency	Parents	Parent/Child	Problem Child	Teacher	Physical Welfare	Unemployment	War	TOTAL	% of total articles
Single Applications	3		1	3	2	39	45	7	1		1		13	3		2	120	56
(i)	2		1	2	2	33	37	6	1		1		11	2		2	100	
Dominant Applications				3	1	23	31	2					6	1		29	96	44
(ii)				3	1	24	33	2					6	1		30	100	
Subsidiary Applications	5	11	16	18		14	13	3	2	2		6	5			1	96	
(iii)	5	11	17	19		15	14	3	2	2		6	5			1	100	
Total Applications (i + ii)	3		1	6	3	62	76	9	1		1		19	4		31	216	100
(iv)	1		0	3	1	29	36	4	0		0		9	2		15	100	

3.9.1 Total Applications, (table 9.i)

The pattern of applications shares some similarities with each of the earlier decades. As in all periods, World education and Curriculum were the major applications and their rank order was the same as the Twenties. The greatest difference in the Forties is the number of War articles. This category accounts for 15% of total applications. The Teacher with 9% has the highest percentage for any period and ranked fourth.

The focus on world education provided a crucial underpinning of NEF faith in comparative education as a means of enhancing international peace and understanding. Most of the special issues on education in different countries were concentrated in the post-war period at a time when the NEF was engaged in rebuilding its international network. The earliest comparative education issues were in 1944 on Poland, France and Czechoslovakia (Feb/Mar) and USA (June). France, Belgium, Holland and The Ukraine featured in subsequent years.

Curriculum was the second major application accounting for 29% of applications articles. Many of the Curriculum articles described teaching aids, the use of broadcasting and the bringing of modern technology into the classroom. War articles described arrangements for continuing education under conditions of evacuation and practical ideas for coping with the disruption caused by wartime conditions. The promotion of citizenship was important in the Forties and ranked fifth but accounted for only 4% of the total applications. In this period, the Association for Education in Citizenship wrote articles in The New Era for a short period when its own publication collapsed.

3.9.2 Single Applications, (Table 9.i)

In the Forties, there was a return to a more abstract, de-contextualised orientation of applications articles as 56%

of the Applications articles are SA's. This was the highest level of SA articles in any of the three decades. The focus of these articles may well have been a consequence of the wartime context as articles were more likely to be dealing with general issues arising from the war.

3.9.3 Dominant Applications, (Table 9.ii)

The spread of dominant applications across the categories in the 1940's is more restricted than in the 1930's and is more similar to the pattern of the 1920's. This offers another example of the structural similarity of the patterns in the 1940's with those of the 1920's. The ratio of single applications to dominant applications in the Forties is similar to that of the Twenties and favours single applications. This again confirms the structural similarity and points in both periods (unlike the Thirties) to a more general de-contextualised concern. However, this is clearly not the case for the category of War which accounts for 30% of dominant applications. The War is the only category where there are more dominant than single applications.

3.9.4 Subsidiary Applications, (Table 9.iii)

The school-based subsidiaries of the institutional categories of Primary and Secondary and School organisation remained, as in the other periods, important subsidiary applications. They show the local contexts of dominant applications. Of the school set, School organisation is the most important. It was most frequently associated with World education (see Table 6 in Appendix 7) and was concerned mainly with the administrative organisation of education in other countries. School organisation was also linked to the War in which articles discussed arrangements for education to continue under conditions of evacuation. However, as a percentage, the institutional subsidiaries is the lowest of the three decades (33%).

It is unusual for World education to rank high among the subsidiaries because it is more frequently found as the dominant application. In the exceptional conditions of the War, when articles described the impact of war in different countries, the War was identified as the dominant focus of the article and World education as its subsidiary.

3.10 The Relationship Between Perspectives and Applications, 1940's

In this period, the total number of articles was only 476, the lowest in any period. The articles were divided into 260 Perspectives and 216 Applications articles. Thus there was renewed attention to the theoretical dimension of New Education discourse with Perspectives comprising 55% of the total articles and Applications 45%. The number of single perspective articles increased slightly to 27% but the number of single application articles peaked at 56%. This more theoretical, abstract and de-contextualised approach may have represented an attempt to reconstruct the principles of New Education discourse in the aftermath of war.

The Forties was predominantly influenced by the War, and this category ranked second as an applied perspective and third among total applications.

In the Perspectives table (table 8) the familial coding categories of Parents, Parent/child and Problem child comprised 15% of the applied Perspectives total. In particular, Psychoanalysis and the Problem child were linked to a consideration of the war-invoked crisis within the family. Nevertheless, applications in both Perspectives and Applications tables reflect a predominantly educational orientation. In both tables, World education in the Perspectives table (table 8) was discussed as the medium for promoting peace and international understanding whereas in the Applications table (table 10) World education referred to descriptions of education systems in different countries and

to the cementing of understanding. The importance attached to World education confirms the comparative education focus introduced in the Forties as part of the Fellowship's wider objective to foster world peace and transnational unity.

4. Overview and Conclusion

4.1 Introduction

The content analysis was conducted to find out whether it confirmed the impressions gained from an initial reading of The New Era. The content analysis has supplied valuable confirmation of the initial impressions of the journal and proved corrective of others. For example, the New Education Fellowship's ambition to promote international and experimental education was evident in the priority attached to World education and Curriculum in the journal. However, the NEF's expressed interest in the family was not developed in the journal as fully as anticipated. This finding was consistent with the results of the author analysis in which it was clear that parents were not active participants in the production of New Education discourse but were rather, expected to receive and reproduce its pedagogic messages.

4.2 The Classification Scheme

The content analysis undertaken in this chapter provides an elaborate classification of New Education discourse which charts its progress in each of the three decades from 1920-1950. It is important to review the classification scheme which structures this analysis to justify its complexity. The major division is between Perspectives, the bodies of knowledge that New Education drew upon and Applications which are solely concerned with pedagogic practice. Thus Perspectives and Applications represent the fundamental structuring principles of the content analysis.

The content analysis reveals the following information:

i) changes in the balance of Perspectives and Applications in articles within and between the three decades
ii) changes in the relative importance of the perspectives upon which New Education drew within and between periods
iii) changes in the relative importance of the applications upon which New Education drew within and between periods
iv) changes in the relationship between single and applied perspectives in the Perspective tables
v) changes in the relationship between single and dominant/subsidiary applications in the Application tables
vi) changes in the relationship between dominant and subsidiary applications in the Application tables.

The value of such a complex analysis is that it identifies which Perspectives and Applications were active within the discourse in each period. The analysis has provided a sensitive measure of the level of theoretical engagement and the degree of generality or specificity of articles. Further, the analysis details the continuities and changes that occurred both within and between periods.

4.3 Reliability of the Data

Attention was drawn to the question of the reliability of the coding in the earlier methods section. It has been argued that the major area of ambiguity in the coding arises out of the dominant/subsidiary distinction. The data reveals some internally consistent patterns which offer some confirmation of the procedures. On theoretical grounds it was argued that the 1920's discursive pattern would be structurally similar to the pattern of the 1940's. This has broadly been shown to be the case. The analysis has demonstrated the discursive distinctiveness of each period and also the continuities between periods.

Articles classified under Perspectives and articles classified under Applications are discrete. They do not overlap between tables. The coding has shown that the most

important applications in each period, World education and Curriculum, are reflected in the applied perspectives in the Perspective tables and in the total applications in the Application tables. There is further evidence of consistency in the major subsidiary applications. These show the enduring importance of the institutional categories of nursery, primary and secondary across the three periods. Further, these institutional categories justify the dominant/subsidiary distinction because discussions of schools was rarely the dominant focus of an article. Schools enter into the discussion as the local context and without the dominant/subsidiary distinction, the information would been lost.

4.4 Relationship to Authors

The relationship between the content and author analysis is complex. There can be no straightforward mapping of the content analysis onto authors. For example, there was no obvious correspondence of numbers of articles on New Psychology with the number of authors who were psychologists. It was anticipated that the more theoretical, single perspective articles would correspond with the specialist authors, but this correlation could not be easily traced. Some confirmation of this trend was evident in the 1940's when the number of single perspective articles increased and there was also a significant rise in the university lecturer category in the author analysis. However, in the 1920's, the SP total was at its highest level and yet the contribution of specialist authors was at its lowest. Thus an alternative explanation of the relationship between authors and contents is required.

There appears to be some correspondence between the number of articles on Psychoanalysis and the number of psychiatric workers in each period which implies that most articles on Psychoanalysis were in fact, written by specialists. This is not the case for New Psychology where specialist articles were not necessarily written by psychologists. In the 1930's the

content analysis showed a massive increase in New Psychology articles but this was not matched in the author analysis, where the contribution of psychologists remained the same as in the Twenties. It seems as if authors did not respect the subject specialist boundaries but felt qualified to write on all aspects of New Education discourse.

Nevertheless, the inter-relationship between authors and contents was crucial in the creation of New Education as a new and dominant intellectual field. The authors consisted of a range of specialists drawn from teachers, teacher-training tutors, university lecturers, psychologists, psychiatric workers and educational administrators. They were employed at different levels of the state education system and worked in such diverse settings as the school, teacher-training college, university, clinic and local government. Together these authors created a new intellectual field. The diversity of authors is reflected in the diversity of content. New Education discourse drew upon New Psychology and Psychoanalysis in particular and Philosophy and Religion to a lesser extent. Similarly, New Education was applied to a wide range of pedagogic practice. It is conceivable that New Education constituted a diverse discourse only because its authors represented such a wide range of interests. The constituents of New Education discourse will be reviewed.

4.5 New Education Discourse

Table 10: Relationship Between Perspectives and Applications Within and Between Periods

	1920's	1930's	1940's
Perspectives			
Single %	28	24	27
Applied %	72	76	73
TOTAL	278	233	260
%	57	46	55
Applications			
Single %	53	38	56
Dominant %	47	62	44
TOTAL	206	274	216
%	43	54	45
TOTAL ARTICLES	484	508	476

4.5.1 Overview (Table 10)

Table 10 is a summary table that clarifies the relationship between the theoretical Perspectives and practical Applications of New Education discourse across the three periods. Table 10 also shows the relationship between single and applied perspectives and between single and dominant/ subsidiary applications. The relationship between Perspectives and Applications was similar in the Twenties and Forties but different in the Thirties. The first and last periods demonstrated a more general theoretical approach with a higher proportion of Perspective articles. In many respects, the Thirties represented a watershed that interrupted patterns that were established in the Twenties and created new trends. The Thirties was more applied in its orientation and can be seen as the testing ground for, and demonstration of theories that emerged in the Twenties.

Across the periods, single perspective and single application articles appear to move together. Thus, when there is a drop in the percentage of SP articles in the 1930's, there is also a very marked reduction in the percentage of SA articles. This offers some evidence of consistency across the tables. Perhaps the strongest evidence for a more general, theoretical focus of New Education in the Twenties and Forties is to be found in the comparison between total Perspectives and total Applications, where it is clearly the case that only in the Thirties is there a much larger proportion of total Applications than total Perspectives.

4.5.2 Formation of the Pedagogic Bricolage and Crystallization of the Disciplines

In the 1920's, the construction of New Education was essentially a theoretical enterprise. All the informing perspectives contributed their different ideas to constitute the "pedagogic bricolage" of New Education discourse. In this period, the dual aim of the discourse, as reflected in its

emancipatory pedagogy, was to promote anti-authoritarianism and to create the conditions for freedom in education. New Education served an integrative function which reflected the Fellowship's ambition to create a new philosophy of education rather than just another new method. It might have been expected that the journal would wish to continue to present its ideas as an integrated discourse in the 1930's, but this was not the case.

A comparison of the Perspectives tables for each period demonstrates that whereas, in the 1920's, the combination categories accounted for 30% of total perspectives articles and as such supported the idea of an integrated discourse, this total fell to only 11% in the Thirties. Thus, in the Thirties, the informing disciplines were seen as discrete. New Psychology split off from New Education and was essentially concerned with normal development. In the Forties, the trend towards a separation of the informing perspectives into discrete disciplines continued. The actual total for the combination categories remained at the Thirties level of 11% but all the articles were concentrated in the one category of New Education/New Psychology.

4.5.3 The Major Informing Perspectives

Table 11: New Education and its Major Informing Perspectives

	Single Perspective		Applied Perspective		TOTAL
	Total	%	Total	%	
New Education	50	17	244	83	294
New Psychology	15	16	78	84	93
Psychoanalysis	42	36	75	64	117
TOTAL	107		397		504
%	21		79		

Table 11 clarifies New Education's relations to the major disciplines that it draws upon, namely New Psychology and Psychoanalysis. Table 11 shows the total distribution of single perspective and applied perspective articles across the three periods. This table shows clearly the relationship between more theoretical articles (SP's) and the focus of their concern (AP's).

The findings from Table 11 are the following:

i) There are relatively few single perspective articles across the three periods. In fact, only 21% of total articles in Table 11 are SP. This confirms that New Education was essentially an applied discourse concerned with pedagogic change.

ii) New Psychology follows New Education with respect to the relationship between SP and AP articles. It is perhaps surprising to discover how few SP articles there are in New Psychology.

iii) The number of SP articles for Psychoanalysis approximates to the number of SP articles for New Education. This would seem to be an unusual finding given the discrepancies in their total number of articles.

iv) If the relationship between SP and AP articles is considered, it is clear that the orientation of Psychoanalysis is relatively more strongly focused on theoretical articles.

There are a number of inferences to be drawn from the above findings. Whilst it is the case that New Education is more applied than theoretical, it is also the case that New Education drew more upon Psychoanalysis for general principles and on New Psychology for its applications. It seems as if the applied perspective articles may well have been written by educational practitioners, teachers or non-specialists. Whereas, it is less feasible that non-specialists would have written the theoretical articles. This suggests that New Education drew upon different authors for different disciplines. Inasmuch as the emphasis of New Psychology is upon applications rather than theory, it is probable that these articles could have been written either by non-psychologists

or by practitioners who were applying knowledge they had either gained elsewhere or read about. This confirms the earlier assertion that New Psychology articles were written by non-specialists. Conversely, the more theoretical Psychoanalytic articles were more likely to require specialist authors and this trend was also confirmed in the comparison between authors and contents.

In general, New Education drew almost equally upon New Psychology and Psychoanalysis. However, New Psychology appears to be subordinate to New Education. In the Twenties and Forties, its orientation was more cognitive, following educational applications. In the 1930's, it emerged as an independent discipline to focus upon child development. Psychoanalysis appears to be a more highly specialised and independent discipline. It served two functions, as a critique of authoritarianism in the Twenties and as an explanation of the pathological consequences of war on family life in the Forties. Psychoanalysis was appropriated by New Education to deal initially with pathology, but it was taken over to deal with normal relationships because of its assumptions about healthy familial relations.

It was only in the 1930's, that the two psychological perspectives converged in their application to the family. In this period, New Psychology was concerned with normal development whereas Psychoanalysis seemed almost wholly concerned with abnormal development within the family. New Psychology derived from the university, underpinned New Education with a cognitive reference and had its base in schools. Psychoanalysis originated in the clinic, provided an explanation of family pathology and had its base in the clinic and child guidance networks. These crucial differences between the two disciplines were reproduced in the intellectual field of New Education which maintained the separation of the disciplines. It seems that the New Education Fellowship took for granted the organisation of knowledge in the university

while rendering problematic the upbringing and education of the child.

4.6 Changes in New Education Discourse

One aim of the content analysis was to test the time divisions of the analysis of the NEF, first introduced in chapter 2, and to find out whether these correlated with changes in the discourse. The content analysis confirmed that each period was distinctive. In brief, the Twenties was the period of construction of the discourse. The application and proselytizing of New Education was the keynote of the Thirties. The Forties was profoundly affected by the War. The changing pattern of Perspectives and Applications have been described in detail for each period but it is important to establish the extent to which the discourse was influenced by changes in Fellowship personnel and policies.

The NEF executive was an international committee with its members dispersed in different countries. It seems unlikely that the Executive exerted any significant influence upon the context of the journal. The most important change in editorial staff occurred in the mid-Thirties when Mrs Ensor, the original editor, relinquished editorial responsibility for the journal to Mrs Volkov. However, the similarities in the distribution of articles in the 1920's and 1940's suggests that there was no major disruption of editorial policy. Nevertheless, in the Forties, the NEF appointed an English headquarters committee to manage its affairs for the duration of the War and it is possible that there was a closer liaison between this committee and editorial policy. The more pragmatic orientation of articles in the Forties may well have reflected broader changes in the Fellowship towards a more practical politics of transnationalisation.

The content of New Education discourse did reflect the wider aims and objectives of the NEF, especially in the promotion of international and experimental education. New

Education discourse was also affected by the policy aim of the Fellowship to introduce New Education into state schools.

The discourse showed a different pattern of applications in the Twenties when New Education was located in the private sector than in the Thirties, when New Education principles and practices were introduced into the state sector.

In the 1920's, New Education took root in the private sector because its emancipatory pedagogy required an appropriate environment, the affluence, space and autonomy of the progressive boarding school. The pedagogic concerns of New Education reflected the rarefied atmosphere of private schools. The majority of articles which described the application of New Education were written by teachers in private schools with reference to the private school context. The Thirties represented a transition period in which the NEF aimed to introduce New Education into state schools. The orientation of applications changed in this period. There was less attention to self-government citizenship because there would have been little opportunity to change the management of state schools to introduce self-governing practices. Instead there was an intensive focus on the Curriculum. This represented an area of classroom practice where teachers exercised some autonomy and were not entirely dependent upon a general disposition of the school in favour of New Education.

4.7 New Education and Emancipation

In establishing the purpose of the content analysis, it was argued that New Education was mostly distinguished by its negative features. This chapter has focused upon the positive qualities of New Education discourse and its cosmology of individual and social change. One aim of the analysis was to discover whether New Education's emancipatory interest receives support through this examination of the content of articles in The New Era. Certainly, this chapter has outlined the structure of theoretical perspectives and practical areas of

concern that underpin New Education's emancipatory interest. Further, this analysis demonstrates that New Education discourse was mainly applied to educational applications and paid relatively little attention to familial applications. This suggests that New Education discourse anticipated that the realization of its emancipatory interests would be achieved mainly through education. The emancipatory focus of New Education discourse is one of its most important features and its emancipatory interest in the child, family and nation will be discussed fully in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

NEW EDUCATION AND ITS EMANCIPATORY INTERESTS

1. Introduction

The chapter examines the three principal foci of New Education discourse, the child, family and nation. The analysis tests the hypothesis that New Education discourse attempts to transform the concepts of the child, family and through the family, the nation as preconditions for a new internationalism.

The chapter differs from the three previous chapters in Part II insofar as it is not based on a precise empirical specification of the discourse, although the description of the discourse derives from The New Era. The specific content analysis in Chapter 6 detailed the structure of New Education discourse and its changing constellation of Perspectives and Applications. It did not convey the language and ethos of the discourse. This chapter serves that function by offering selective insights into the content of New Education's emancipatory interests. The analysis draws upon both articles and editorials to portray the pedagogic message of New Education and to convey its rhetoric and its sense of a world-transformatory mission.

The major focus of this chapter is the theory of childhood socialization inherent in the "emancipatory pedagogy" of New Education. The analysis of The New Era in earlier chapters in Part II has revealed that there was generally little attention to the family. For example, the author analysis in Chapter 5 demonstrated that the contribution of parents to the construction of New Education discourse was negligible. Similarly, the content analysis in Chapter 6, concluded that New Education's applications to the family represented only a small proportion of articles in each period. In the Thirties,

when the journal paid most attention to the family, familial applications together accounted for less than 20% of the total applied perspectives. Nevertheless, New Education discourse implied a new concept of the child which entailed the transformation of the school, family and nation.

This chapter is divided into three main sections which demonstrate the main stages in the development of New Education's emancipatory interests. These sections also coincide with the major time divisions of the analysis of New Education into the three decades. The first section examines the emancipation of the child through New Education's emancipatory pedagogy in the 1920's. The second considers the emancipatory interest of New Education in the family in the 1930's. The third addresses the attempt in the 1940's, to emancipate the nation through the democratic reconstruction of family life. The analysis of New Education discourse in this chapter further demonstrates the interaction of New Education's informing theoretical perspectives. In particular, changes in the dominant psychological perspective influence the theories of childhood in each of the three decades.

2. The Emancipation of the Child

2.1 Introduction

> "In the wrack of fallen empires lies the ruin of policies and systems, and the foundations of kingdoms that have withstood the shock are rent and fissured. But the spirit of man through suffering and endurance has grown and gathered like the great light of dawn spreading in the heavens .... Freedom and Tolerance and Understanding have burst open the doors so carefully locked upon them in the secret chambers of the souls of men, and are spreading abroad under the restlessness and destruction of these times. In all the realms of thought and action they move: not least in Education." (Outlook Tower 1920 Jan:3)

This section examines the emancipatory pedagogy of New Education. The concept of emancipatory pedagogy captures the dual aspect of New Education in its critique of authoritarianism and its concern with educative freedom.

Emancipatory pedagogy conveys this double movement with its negative connotation of critique and its positive aspect in devising new pedagogic principles and practices.

The major concern of The New Era in the 1920's was with the emancipation of the child. This would be achieved through the dual focus of the emancipatory pedagogy. New Education's critique of authoritarianism provides the basis for the emancipatory pedagogy and this is discussed in the next sub-section. The positive moment of the emancipatory pedagogy is expressed through the concept of freedom. The theoretical underpinning of this concept is established in the next sub-section. Although the emancipatory pedagogy had important implications for family life, it was through the educative environment that New Education aimed to create the necessary conditions for freedom in this period. The educative environment is discussed in the final sub-section.

2.2 Critique of Authoritarianism

The critique of authoritarianism represents the negative moment of New Education's emancipatory pedagogy. The process of democratic reconstruction depended upon an understanding of the failings of the present generation. The critique of authoritarianism identified the systems of government and education as well as the exercise of paternal authority within the family as responsible for the crisis conditions of early Twentieth Century society.

2.2.1 The Old System of Government

> "The present generation has failed to keep the world from slaughtering, failed to abolish slavery, failed to make Christianity a living thing. And yet we have parents attempting to make little children in their own image." (Editorial Comment 1921 Jan:151)

The shortcomings of the present and past governments were a recurrent theme in the 1920's. The monarchies and autocratic

governments of the past maintained control through the exercise of "arbitrary authority which implied both arbitrary discipline and arbitrary suppression" (OT 1929 Jul:133). The old system encouraged aggressive, competitive and materialistic attitudes which ultimately gave rise to warfare according to one author (Woods 1921 Jan:132).

The hope for the future lay in breaking with the past. One editorial claimed, in a spirit of humility, that the present generation had forfeited its right to determine the moral standards of the next. If a new more democratic society were to succeed, the present generation must allow children the necessary freedom to evolve a new and democratic morality (ibid:132). However, although New Educators proclaimed the innocence and evolutionary superiority of youth (deriving from Theosophical tenets), it was through education that they anticipated the advent of democracy.

2.2.2 The Old System of Education

> "Yesterday was a time of suffering, superstition, routine, the narrow imposition of authority and coercion. Yesterday, school still meant the subservience of intelligence to intellect, and of intellect to mere hack work: yesterday was the triumph of verbalism, the reign of fixed programmes, rigid methods and ne varietur time-tables." (Ferriere 1923 Oct:219)

The education system was blamed for fostering an aggressive, nationalistic mentality, instilling an unquestioning obedience to authority and suppressing individuality. The rigid school system was enforced through corporal punishment. Under the old system, education meant "training the mind". Professor Nunn, Principal of the London Day Training College, summarised this position in his critique:

> "The old education believing its function to be to work externally upon a more or less passive object - the mind, deemed it sufficient to fill that mind with knowledge, to polish it, to sharpen it, and above all to stiffen it with discipline." (Nunn 1929 Oct:205)

The good teacher, under this system was one who maintained the strictest discipline and kept the children "well under" (OT 1929 Jul:137). The male teacher was the main target for criticism in The New Era because he was more likely to inflict corporal punishment on his pupils. However, on one occasion, an editorial specifically criticized women teachers:

> "The teacher who is still bound by sex repressions, strong prejudices, sectarian dogmatism, rabid political opinions cannot create a free atmosphere for her pupils." (OT 1925 Oct:98)

This quotation implied that both male and female teachers suffered from sex repression. The woman teacher was more likely to be neurotic, and the male teacher aggressive.

The consequence of the old education was the creation of ineffectual adults and suppressed personalities. The dangers of this system were summarised as follows:

> "Through wrong education, the inner self is often bottled up, and we have the warped and petty personalities who are of no use to the world because their life force has been repressed." (OT 1923 Oct:216)

2.2.3 The Authoritarian Father

> "Know then, that the surest way to make your child have respect and obedience is to whip him if naughty .... Psychologists know that the methods of the Corporal Correction League are disastrous to children. We have grown out of the idea that a child must be moulded in character, and we have abundant proof that punishment makes criminals and neurotics in thousands." (Editorial Comment 1921 Jan:151)

The New Era regarded the exercise of paternal authority as a sign of ignorance of child-rearing. The problem with authority was explained by recourse to psychoanalysis:

"Well, psychoanalysis has shown us authority and fear in

> their true lights. We are all suffering from an authority complex. Freud gives it a sexual basis .... but the hate of the father (who is authority personified) is more than sexual." (OT 1920 Jul:64)

In the early 1920's, the journal cited many case histories of disturbed behaviour manifested by children who were punished, especially where punishment was a response to sexual "offenses" such as masturbation (e.g. 1924 Jan/Apr issues).

The prevailing image of a good father (or teacher) as one who wielded his authority tyrannically was effectively displaced in The New Era. Instead, the articles and editorials cast doubts upon the character of the father (or teacher) who could beat children as someone in need of psychological treatment (Neill 1920 Oct:113; OT 1924 Jan:2). A.S. Neill, co-editor of The New Era, and strongly influenced by Freud, argued that the punitive father was either a sexual pervert or he enjoyed the power commanded by fear (Neill 1920 Oct:113). The flogging parent was at war with himself, projecting his self-hatred onto his victim (Ed. Comment 1921 Jan:151).

Moreover, the journal established the connections between corporal punishment and sexual arousal. Susan Isaacs, a Kleinian psychoanalyst, in her first article for the journal in 1929, argued that where bodily pain had an erotic value, corporal punishment enhanced the desire to provoke it, thereby confirming the crime rather than eliminating it (Isaacs 1929 Jul:172).

2.2.4 Conclusion

The critique of authoritarian systems of government, education and parenting provided New Education with a diagnosis of societal malaise and a prognosis for its future improvement. The emancipatory pedagogy is anticipated in the critique of authoritarianism. This modality of authoritarian control evolved from medieval theology. "A child born in sin had to be made good by external authority" (OT 1929 Jul:134).

However, in the light of New Psychology, naughtiness was not sinful and there was a shift from a religious conception of discipline to a medical-psychological register of treatment:

> "Sin, so called, is pathological, needing expert help for its curing by those who understand and love the human heart in all its wayfarings. Our impositions, our canings and standing-in-the-corner at school, our birching and imprisonment in the adult world, are all part of the same monstrous and useless torture of lives that are already sick." (OT 1924 Jul:80)

The translation from sin to sickness and from punishment to treatment was effected through the medicalisation of discipline. The New Era endorsed the treatment model with its implications for preventive and remedial therapy.

2.3 Education for Freedom

The antithesis of authoritarianism is freedom. The concept of freedom adopted in The New Era in the early Twenties meant specifically individual freedom. It represented the positive moment of the emancipatory pedagogy but also incorporated its negative moment in the critique of authoritarianism. Freedom implied both a release from previous restraints and freedom to develop naturally. In this period, it was more or less absolute. Freedom embraced a vision of the child as the centre of education. The concept was suffused with philosophical, religious and psychological ideas. This sub-section examines the concept of freedom and its theoretical perspectives.

2.3.1 The Concept of Freedom

> "Great faith is needed in this dark period, and we pioneers who see the dawn before the rest of the world know that the principles of the new age will win and that freedom, expression, creation and co-operation will triumph over limitation, repression, rule of thumb and competition, whose forces are marshalled against us." (OT 1925 Jul:188)

The concept of freedom in New Education derives from an amalgam of its informing perspectives, namely Philosophy, Religion and Psychoanalysis. Their relative contribution to the definition of freedom will be briefly assessed for two reasons. Firstly, because the concept of freedom is so fundamental to New Education's emancipatory pedagogy. Secondly, it demonstrates the interaction of New Education's informing perspectives.

From a philosophical perspective, New Education implied greater freedom for the child:

> "in every child are potentialities which build up the total moral quotient with which he is endowed at birth." (OT 1929 Jul:134)

The concept of freedom in education derived from Rousseau who believed that man is naturally good and therefore free, until he becomes corrupted by society. The function of a good education was to protect the natural goodness of the child from society's influence. Thus protected, the child will be free to develop his natural goodness and to undertake his responsibilities as a member of the community. New Education revolved around the child to protect him from the distorting influence of society and religion and to allow him the freedom to develop his natural potential for citizenship.

The contribution of Religion was more complex and contradictory. New Education was shaped partly in opposition to authoritarian Christian dogma and, partly by a wider definition of religion as emancipatory. New Education reacted against the conception of the child as born in original sin implicit in Western Christianity and its ideas about discipline that derived from medieval theology. The wider definition of religion as emancipatory represented the unifying aspects of world religions and derived from the Theosophical origins of the NEF. This was forcefully expressed by the editor, Mrs Ensor:

"The fact is that we all realise that the education of

> today accepts a belief in the inner self responding to the God without-God immanent in the self responding to God in the world external to self. It is because God is in every child that it is possible to liberate the creative faculty that dwells within." (OT 1923 Oct:215)

In this quotation there is a synthesis of the immanent God of Eastern religions and the transcendent God of Western religions. There is a dual focus upon individual salvation and the prospect of the unity of mankind in God.

The expression of freedom as a religious act provides the principle of a pedagogic practice based on the premise that God is love. As God exists within the child, so too is the child an expression of God's love. The role of the educator was therefore to ensure the undistorted realisation of this pedagogic practice and "to make the child inwardly free" (Rotten 1927, Oct:118). The significance of Religion for New Education lay in its unificatory promise of a pedagogic practice based on the principle "God is love". As such, Religion served a potentially integrative function for New Education.

However, the contribution of Religion to New Education discourse was controversial as indeed was the role of Religion in the wider orientation of the NEF. This was discussed earlier in Chapter 2. Boyd argues that to many New Educators, Religion "suggests not freedom but mind and soul in bondage to outworn creeds and rituals" (Boyd 1930:236). This was especially the case in European countries where New Educators were trying to rescue education from Catholicism. Thus the controversy about Religion which surfaced in the NEF was mirrored in New Education discourse. At both levels, the contradiction between Religion's authoritarian and emancipatory potential remained as a tension that was unresolved.

The psychological interpretation of freedom derived from Jung, whose theory entailed religious associations. Mrs Ensor described the psychological background to New Education in terms of Jung's theory:

> "From psychology we have learnt of the evolution of consciousness. The importance of the Unconscious mind cannot be over-estimated; the unconscious part of ourselves is a great power for us to use, when we have learnt the means, for the unconscious of the individual is a part of the collective unconscious of the universe, which is God himself, the reservoir of power, the storehouse of memory, the well of wisdom - in fact the total expression of the ages. As it is within God himself that we have our individual unconscious, there is no limit to the powers we can liberate, given the right milieu." (OT 1923 Oct:216)

The basis of New Education was recognition of the powers and capacities within the child awaiting release through education (OT 1922 Apr:39). The process of child development in the interpretation therefore assumed much greater importance. Psychological study was necessary to show:

> "how to tap the inner sources, how to arrange our environment so that there shall be no obstruction between the conscious and the unconscious" (ibid)

Psychoanalysis represented a powerful force behind New Education proposing new principles for the realization of individual freedom.

2.3.2 Conclusion

The emancipatory pedagogy implied both freedom from authoritarianism and freedom to develop naturally. The concept of freedom incorporated the philosophical notion of the individual child as naturally good, placing him/her at the centre of the educational process. New Psychology revolutionised the adult attitude towards the child in its aim to provide principles for the protection of the child from distorting influences and for the realisation of individual freedom. The relationship between New Education and Religion was contradictory. New Education was opposed to Christian doctrines of original sin and discipline but also derived from a synthesis of religious perspectives, the promise of unity in

God and one of the principles for its pedagogic practice that God is love. In the above discussion of the concept of freedom, the integration of the Perspectives of Philosophy, Religion and Psychoanalysis is evident. This integration substantiates the earlier claim in Chapter 6, that New Education constituted a pedagogic bricolage in this period.

2.4 The Educative Environment

> "The fundamental basis of the New Education is the realisation that all powers and capacities lie within the child and that, therefore, all education must be auto-education. The function of the educator lies simply in the provision of the external stimuli needed to start the process of auto-education along all the avenues by which consciousness contacts environment."
>
> (OT 1922 Apr:39)

In the early Twenties, all that was required of education was the provision of the right environment for the preservation of childhood innocence and the release of innate potential. The ideas which emerged concerning the most appropriate environment emphasised naturalism, co-education and self-government to create the necessary conditions for individual freedom. However, the conception of the most appropriate educative environment also depended upon the teacher. The role of the teacher was fundamental in the success of New Education.

The view of the educative environment stimulating the natural growth of creative consciousness was dependent on seeing the child as an active agent in the educative process. Professor Emile Marcault, a French psychologist and theosophist claimed that New Education achieved better results by "the release and culture of creative consciousness in the child than by the feeding of underdeveloped faculty" (Marcault 1925 Oct:99).

In its most idealistic form, the right environment was one which most closely resembled nature to facilitate the natural flowering of innate potential (Decroly 1922 Apr:41). The Activity Schools proposed by Dr Adolphe Ferriere emphasised

natural surroundings and outdoor activities (Ferriere 1923 Oct:218). The advertisements for private schools in The New Era also stressed their beautiful surroundings, outdoor life, attention to health, diet and exercise (see Chapter 4, Section 8). The assumption was that a naturalist environment offered the freedom to develop innate potentialities and equated the educative process with the natural growth of the child.

New Education was described with horticultural metaphors which likened the growth of the child to that of a plant. For example:

> "Man's supreme achievement is to bring to blossom the flower of life itself...." (OT 1922 Apr:37)

This naturalism had closest affinities with the theory of auto-education proposed by the French psychoanalyst Coue and popular for a short period in the early 1920's. The theory represented the clearest psychological expression of New Education's policy of freedom in education and it was advocated in an early editorial quoted at the beginning of this sub-section.

The attention to the educative environment was a feature of New Education schools in the private sector. These schools could afford the right surroundings. However, they were also among the first schools to practise co-education. This represented an extension of the naturalist environment. Bedales School was the first co-educational school in England. The conjunction of naturalism and co-education is evident in the following explanation of its success at Bedales:

> "You must of course see that either parents or teachers have spoken fully and frankly to their children about sex and the treatment of their bodies, that you have a sufficiently open-air and active life and plenty of opportunity for creative self-expression in the arts and crafts, in drama and music." (Powell 1925 Oct:113)

The success of co-education depended upon an informed approach to sex education which avoided repressive attitudes. Against accusations of precocious sexuality in co-educational schools, the Bedales teachers claimed that pupils learnt self-control over their sexual urges freed from fear (ibid:113).

A further feature of the progressive boarding schools which allowed scope for freedom was self-government. This practice derived from work with delinquent populations (1). For example, Dr. Karl Wilker described the transformation of his reform school in Berlin, which proved the boys' capacity for governing their own lives according to democratic principles. Freed from authoritarian constraints, the boys demonstrated their natural potential for self-discipline.

If delinquent working-class boys showed this capacity for self-government, it was presumed to be an innate characteristic that required only the right conditions in order to flourish. The next step was to translate this principle into educational communities. Self-government rapidly became adopted as a feature of the progressive boarding schools and was also introduced as an experiment in a number of state schools. For example, Mr Edward O'Neill, head of a Lancashire county school described it as an environment in which the children could do what they wanted and organise the day as they pleased (E O'Neill 1921 Jan:128).

The emphasis upon freedom in education and the child-centredness evident in the excessive attention to the educative environment were aspects of New Education that proved contentious. The argument was whether children should have absolute freedom and allow skills to develop naturally or whether basic competencies should be taught. In opposition to auto-education and the naturalist arguments, some educators claimed that without the acquisition of basic skills, children would be ill-prepared for adult life. American progressive educators spearheaded this latter view. For example, Washburne, originator of the Winnetka Technique and an

educational administrator in USA, proposed that through project work or building on the child's interests, certain basic skills could be incorporated into the educational process (Washburne 1927 Oct:126/7). This opinion was endorsed by Mrs Ensor at the Locarno Conference in 1927 although she had previously been an enthusiastic supporter of auto-education.

Harold Rugg, educational psychologist to the Lincoln School of Teachers' College, New York, argued that many New Educators paid insufficient attention to ideas and intellectual development. He proposed a new form of progressivism which included skills, an understanding of how people live together and creative art. He concluded that:

> "our job is to become students of education, at present we are students of child activities and interests, but that is not enough; we have adult life to consider - the life for which we are to prepare the child."
> (Rugg 1927 Oct:125).

By the conclusion of the Locarno Conference, it was apparent that freedom was relative rather than absolute and that the educative environment was to be more structured to cater for individual needs and potential at different ages and stages of development. The earlier emphasis upon the educative environment set limits to the potential for a wider dissemination of New Education beyond the private schools.

The most rarefied educative environment was achieved at the NEF Conferences. These were held in the beautiful natural surroundings of Calais, Montreux, Heidelberg (itself an old town but surrounded by country), Locarno and Elsinore. Each Conference report published in The New Era conveyed an impression of an educational community of pioneers who discussed New Education in a spirit of enthusiasm and commitment. For example, the Heidelberg conference (1925) was described in the following terms:

> "It is not easy to convey in words the communion of spirit, the harmony of feeling and understanding which

> pervaded the conference. It is certain that meeting day after day in friendly consultation, one received very much more inspiration and illumination than was conveyed consciously through lectures and discussions. Through the subconscious, the individual received something infinitely precious of renewal, of fortification which cannot be analyzed in words." (OT 1925 Jul:93).

It was as if the ideal conditions for adult learning were transposed onto the learning experience of children. Common interest, communion and co-operation combined with natural surroundings to create an exciting educative environment. The creation of an appropriate educative environment presupposed a natural curiosity and interest to stimulate the child into learning situations. The dilemma for New Education was that given conditions of absolute freedom there was no guarantee that the children would learn anything.

2.5 The Role of the Teacher

> "The teachers have in their hands the direction of the destiny of the world. It is for them to release in their pupils the special potentialities that are needed for the New Age-potentialities which will render the children effective instruments for the moulding of the world closer to the ideal of Freedom for service in the light of which they have lived at school" (OT 1925 Oct:98)

There was no doubt that New Education invested its hope for a better future in the educative ability of teachers. Without the right teacher, New Education methods, curriculum and environment were of no avail. However, the teacher who was fit to teach New Education had to be fundamentally different from the old-style autocrat. The role of the teacher was invested with higher status and assumed a high level of professional expertise necessary to guide the development of children.

In an issue devoted to Education in England, the editorial commented upon the low status and poor quality of most teachers, quoting from H.G. Wells:

> "The last human beings in the world in whom you are likely to find a spark of creative energy or a touch of imaginative rigour are the masters and mistresses of the upper middle class schools .... Those teachers are by necessity orthodox, conformist, genteel people of an infinite discretion and an invincible formality. Essentially they are a class of refugees from the novelties and strains and adventures of life." It is so often the men who fail to take up schoolmastering .... "Poor devil ... he's got a second class. His people have no money .... The substance of the profession is that sort of residence. Its mentality is the mentality of residual men." (OT 1928 Apr:60)

H.G. Wells blamed the low status and pay for encouraging 'residual men' into the teaching profession. He includes the residue of the upper middle classes who teach in public schools because they have either failed, or been unable to afford to enter the established professions of the Church, medicine or armed forces. He also claimed that the teachers in state schools consist of the residue of the lower middle class. For both fractions of the middle class, teaching represents a last resort.

The editorial recognised that the teaching profession lacked the status and respect that other professions such as medicine, the law or civil service enjoyed. This was not the case in other countries where teachers commanded greater respect and where education, generally, was more highly valued. In England, education lacked academic status. This was apparent from the fact that neither Oxford nor Cambridge had a professorial chair in Education (ibid). In addition, most secondary teachers had no training. In 1913, only 180 out of 5,246 men teachers in secondary schools had any form of training (ibid).

The New Era recommended major reforms in the training and status of teachers:

> "We must make of the teaching profession a high art founded on scientific and psychological knowledge, equal in scope to any other profession and providing

> opportunities for the initiative and service of our best men and women." (ibid)

This approach was more typical of the journal, conveying the idea of teaching as a vocation. In contrast to H G Wells's concern with the pay and conditions of teachers, The New Era was more interested in the teachers' personality and suitability for their work.

The task of the teacher in the early Twenties, when theories of auto-education were popular, was as a facilitator. The teacher must "aid the sublimation of primitive, instinctive forces", maintain harmony between the conscious and the unconscious of a child "in order that he may be able to bring through into the conscious the many rich impressions that are gathered in the unconscious" (OT 1924 Jul:81). With the whole class, the aim of the teacher was "to tap the collective unconscious of the pupils and guide them to a realisation of its aim" (ibid). The teacher needed to be sensitive and "ever present with the light touch of the artist to direct and then only where direction is necessary" (Crosby-Kemp 1925 Jul:104).

Teachers needed to be aware of New Psychology and undertake self-analysis to discover whether they were psychologically free (OT 1925 Oct:98). Any teacher suffering from emotional immaturity or a warped personality would reflect this in the pupils (Hinkle 1926 Jan:11). Hinkle, a teacher conversant with New Psychology, was suspicious of teachers who advocated absolute freedom for the children. In her view, freedom could not be given, it was a state that had to be attained. She urged teachers to strive for personal freedom through self analysis:

> "When one can sincerely and deeply feel - not intellectualise about it - that the most important task in life is one's own redemption from psychic bondage to old habits and traditional notions, and the development of one's latent potentialities, the first step has been taken in the new direction." (ibid:11)

The study of psychoanalysis was necessary for teachers if they were to achieve personal freedom. It was also important as a means of understanding children better. The good teacher provided a vital link in the identification of problem children and the development of preventive and remedial treatment. Alcock, a psychologist who contributed articles to the journal, stressed the inter-connection between psychoanalysis and education:

> "Psychoanalysis is a subject that today is as essential to the equipment of teachers as of doctors, and tomorrow it will become more the teacher's affair than the doctor's." (Alcock 1920 Jul:68)

2.6 Conclusion

The emancipatory pedagogy was expressed in the critique of authoritarianism and education for freedom. Initially, the concept of freedom implied that it was unconditional. The child was allowed to develop naturally in an environment undistorted by authoritarian constraints. The success of New Education depended upon the teacher. Ideally the teacher would have a free personality and serve as a guide to the pupils. The teacher was envisaged as an 'educational gardener' preparing the soil for the natural growth of the child. It was not a positive role.

Nevertheless, the NEF attempted to raise the status of teaching and transform it into a respect-worthy profession. Rather than take practical steps to reform teachers' pay and conditions, the NEF aimed to achieve the transformation through training in the science of New Education. This neglect of the pay and conditions of teaching was typical of the NEF's political naivety. It failed to take account of the existing socio-political context in its transformatory mission.

Sinha describes the Twenties as a religious phase based on a romantic ideology (Sinha 1971:181). He captures the idealised vision of the Fellowship's quest, but does not adequately convey the complexity of New Education. It was

developed as much in reaction to the authoritarian discipline of orthodox Christianity as in response to universal values of unity in God and the pedagogic principle that God is love. Moreover, New Education was not shaped by religion alone, it also incorporated other theoretical perspectives in the pedagogic bricolage that constituted its science of education.

The concept of 'universal personalism' more aptly described the NEF in the Twenties both in its secular and religious base because this captures the duality of its universal, context-free values and its intense focus upon individuality and personal development. However, by the end of this period the concept of freedom was revised and given a more conditional status.

The conditions for freedom required greater vigilance on the part of educators to monitor their pupils for signs of maladjustment. A further problem for teachers was that given the conditions for freedom, there was no guarantee that their pupils would learn anything. It was proposed that basic skills should be taught but in such a way that they build upon natural interests. Freedom became increasingly conditional upon theories of education and psychoanalysis.

The child represented the major focus for New Education's emancipatory pedagogy in the Twenties. The emancipation of the child was to be realised only through education. The educative environment would provide the necessary conditions for the free development of the child. New Education conveyed a moral message of democratic reconstruction and responsible citizenship. It would provide the appropriate milieu for a natural progression towards a higher order of civilisation and world unity based on the pedagogic principle of love. Education was envisaged as the sole agency of world transformation. New Education discourse implied that the emancipation of the child through education would transform authoritarian nations into a new democratic international community.

3. The Emancipatory Interest in the Family

3.1 Introduction

The focus of New Education's emancipatory interest was upon the family in the 1930's. In Chapter 6, this was the only period in which New Education discourse expressed much interest in the family. However, attention to the parental milieu had gradually emerged in the Twenties with the recognition of the importance of the home for the psychic development of children. In general, the approach to parents in the Twenties was to criticise them. This was most forcibly expressed in the attack upon the authoritarian father. The New Era forged an early connection between neurosis and delinquency by attributing the underlying cause of both to defective parent-child relationships. Psychoanalysis provided the informing perspective on parent-child relationships. For example, Jung argued that given a problem child, it was necessary to seek out the cause in the parental milieu (Jung 1923 Oct:27).

The ambition of the Thirties was to gain a fuller understanding of the child, embracing a philosophy of 'holism' in the scientization of New Education. In the 1920's, the world-transformatory mission of the Emancipatory Pedagogy was to be accomplished through education alone. By the Thirties, it was apparent that without a similar transformation in the home, New Education could not achieve its objectives. The idealistic aspirations of freedom were replaced by the desire for greater understanding of the individual.

This section examines briefly the scientization of New Education and its crystallization into distinct disciplines through the emergence of New Psychology as an independent Perspective and its relationship to Psychoanalysis. One ambition in the 1930's was to consolidate New Education in both home and school. To achieve this aim, The New Era promoted home-school co-operation and this initiative will be discussed. The major focus in the journal's approach to parents was parent

education. This section examines the dynamics of parental ignorance, constructs a typology of defective parent-child relationships and generates new principles of child socialization.

3.2.1 The Science of New Education

> "Slowly we are realising that there may be a science of education, a science that will provide for the growth of the whole child and his social adjustment to the world." (OT 1930 Jul:3)

New Education constituted a pedagogic bricolage which engendered a double movement towards the scientization of New Education and the crystallization of the different disciplines. This was one of the contradictions of New Education's theoretical schema that it actively promoted New Education as a unifying force while separating out the different disciplines within it. This movement is clearest in the relationship between New Psychology and psychoanalysis.

In the 1920's, psychoanalysis provided the psychological underpinning of New Education, supplying the rationale for anti-authoritarianism. It was instrumental in the translation of delinquency from sin to sickness and the promotion of a treatment model instead of punishment. The assumption that delinquency and neuroses were extremes on a continuum of normal development drew attention to the importance of understanding the process of early socialization. Thus the impetus to study normal development derived from the pathological focus on maladjusted children and psychoanalysis was superseded by New Psychology.

New Psychology emerged as an independent discipline, separated from its early conjunction with New Education, to concentrate upon child study. Its formation as a distinct perspective might have facilitated the recognition of child development in the universities which had established connections with the NEF (2).

In the 1930's, whilst the study of the whole child was under way in the universities and teacher-training colleges, embracing the physical, mental and emotional aspects of growth, the resulting pedagogic principles and practices recommended for normal development were popularised and disseminated to parents by The New Era. This extension of New Psychology to parents was generally welcomed by New Educators. Dr Isaacs was among those who supported this popularisation of psychological knowledge and contributed a number of articles to the journal (3).

The Parent Education movement also influenced the Fellowship's strategy. This movement originated in America in the 1920's and was motivated by the success of infant welfare agencies to teach mothers rudiments of physical hygiene, extending the principle to teach them mental hygiene (Tilson 1930 Jul:12) (4). With the reformulation of the NEF objectives in 1930, The New Era actively promoted mental hygiene.

The impact of delinquency research in the Twenties and Thirties in shifting the burden of responsibility from children to their parents created a dual focus for the management of problem children. The Mental Hygiene agencies in America initially confined their attention to discovering the cause of delinquency and rehabilitating the offender but subsequently redirected their efforts "from corrective programmes with children to preventive programmes with adults" (Tilson 1930 Jul:12). This project envisaged the integration of psychoanalysis and New Psychology through the dual focus on therapy and prevention.

In England, Burt, renowned for his delinquency research, was a staunch advocate of child guidance clinics which would perform a similar function to the Mental Hygiene agencies in America. The Tavistock Square Clinic was opened in 1920 by Dr Hugh Crichton-Miller, a psychiatrist and pioneer of New Psychology (with close contacts with the NEF). The Clinic

established a reputation for its treatment of problem children and opened a children's department in 1926. It provided the model for the subsequent child guidance clinics and incorporated psychoanalytic and New Psychological perspectives (Rose 1985:198) (5).

However, the Child Guidance clinics that were established in the 1930's represented a predominantly psychoanalytic perspective. They focused upon therapy with the individual child. The preventive aspect of the work was concentrated elsewhere in parent education organisations and initiatives. Thus the prospect of integrating the different perspectives under the umbrella of New Education was not sustained in the Thirties when there was a clear separation of the disciplines. This separation of New Psychology and Psychoanalysis is supported by the analysis of perspectives in Chapter 6.

3.2.2 Conclusion

In the scientization of New Education in the Thirties, there developed a counter swing towards the crystallization of disciplines. New Psychology emerged as an independent discipline with an academic base in the universities. It is possible that the NEF may have precipitated the academic recognition of child development as a serious discipline. Certainly, the inter-relationship was mutually beneficial. The university base for New Psychology conferred academic legitimacy on the journal's parent education scheme while The New Era popularised and disseminated academic research findings.

The motivation for New Psychology derived from the psychoanalytic study of individual pathology. The treatment of offenders through the child guidance clinic offered the prospect of an integration of the two perspectives through therapy and preventive work. However, there was no integration in spite of their convergence on the family. The child guidance clinics evolved with a psychoanalytic model of therapy

for problem children in the medicalised community of the clinic. New Psychology was applied to normal development with its institutional base in the university but with an extension, in popularised form, to parent education initiatives.

3.3.1 Home and School Co-operation

> "The reason why close relations should exist between home and school is because their separation brings several dangers. First, lest with school and home in watertight compartments, a double self be engendered in the child. Second, lest the teacher should work without the help of the most potent influences in the child's life, that of the father and mother." (Woods 1931 Jan:25)

In the 1920's, parents were banned from entering schools and the separate spheres of home and school rigidly maintained. By the Thirties, it was recognised that the success of New Education in schools was hampered by parents who remained transfixed by the old authoritarian attitudes. There was also a new danger that divided loyalties between home and school would create conflict in the child's psyche that could cause psychological damage (ibid:25).

The interest in home/school co-operation marked a relatively brief moment in the early 1930's, when the philosophy of holism embraced every aspect of the child's life. The impetus for parent-teacher co-operation came from America where it developed in concert with parent education initiatives (Manning 1930 Jul:13). In England, the NEF was instrumental in launching the Home and School Council. (See Chapter 2 for a fuller discussion of the Home and School Council.)

The value of establishing good home-school relations was summarised in one editorial:

> "Parent-teacher associations in America and in this country are generally constituted so as to avoid any possibility of parents interfering in the school's actual organization, but they often provide channels through which parents are able to help the school. They also enable parents to know more about the school and its policy. They familiarise teachers with the child's

> background, and throw light on behaviour problems manifested in school. The school can often help the parent to adjust home difficulties." (OT 1930 Jul:4)

This quotation is important because it identifies the advantages for the school of parental co-operation. Implicit in the conception of good home-school relations is the assumption that the school is the superior educator. Teachers, versed in the principles of New Education, were in a better position to instruct parents in their duties towards the child and the school. The parents were recognised as co-operating with the school to the extent that they could add to the teachers' knowledge of the child, act upon the teachers' advice and adopt the same pedagogic principles.

3.3.2 Conclusion

The attitude of the school as superior educator is evident in most of the articles on home-school relations. It is legitimated in terms of the best interest of the child. However, the inequality implicit in this relationship and governing The New Era's approach to parents generally (see Chapter 4), is nevertheless at odds with NEF policy. The Fellowship proposed a shared experience of problems and "a mental unity that will foster the cause of peace" (OT 1930 Jul:4). In fact, the journal's approach to parents was essentially prescriptive.

3.3.1 The Dynamics of Parental Ignorance: 'Many Look But Only a Few See'

> "So it is with parents. Many look at their children but only those who are informed see and understand their behaviour." (Tilson 1930 Jul:10)

The burden of responsibility for normal child development was placed squarely on parental shoulders by the New Educators in the early Thirties. The ambition of the Fellowship was to convince parents of the importance of child study. Parenthood was likened to a career which required training. It was not

to be undertaken lightly:

> "How gaily father and mother set out on the career of parenthood with no knowledge to assist them! And the irony of it is that long before the children go to school they have become 'problem' children." (OT 1930 Jul:3)

Parents were clearly warned that their ignorance was a crime for which their children would suffer. In short, parental ignorance was not to be tolerated by the experts. One editorial proclaimed with missionary zeal that there was no grounds for satisfaction until the principles of child psychology had been relayed to all parents at a level they could comprehend (OT 1932 Nov:315). What had begun as an academic discipline of child development had become essential knowledge for all parents on the premise that:

> "If from the beginning a rational, reasonable and sane environment is provided, no child will get into wrong social adjustment." (Blatz 1930 Jul:5)

In the Thirties, the focus upon child study led to a greater awareness of the range of parental defects that caused behaviourial problems in children. A typology of problem parents can be drawn up consisting of four categories. These are classified as parental ignorance, parental disharmony, the problem father and the problem mother. Each will be addressed briefly.

3.3.2 Parental Ignorance

> "There are three million people in the British Isles suffering from 'nervous' disorders which are largely the direct result of ignorance and wrong treatment during the early years of their lives." (Payne 1932 May:157)

The main problem was that through ignorance the parents did not understand their children. Margaret Lowenfeld, a psychiatrist, who founded the Institute of Child Psychology, argued that "behind every child's failure lies the failure of

a parent" (Lowenfeld 1933 May:82). Parents were required to understand the child's perspective. On a sterner note, Dr Crichton-Miller, Director of the Tavistock Clinic, offered a "fierce indictment of those parents whose incapacity is a danger to the state" (Crichton-Miller 1931 Sep:330). Presumably the parents were a danger to the state because they created problem children who would become ineffectual adults.

3.3. Parental Disharmony

> "I have seen the most tragic enslavement of real gifts, the most pathetic binding to obsessional ritual, in those whose life had confirmed the need to defend one parent against the contempt or encroachment of the other. What the parents are to each other is surely as significant as what they are, together or separately, to the child himself." (Isaacs 1936 Sep/Oct:243)

This problem was first identified in the Twenties but continued as a cause for concern in the Thirties because it was liable to make children feel insecure (McCallum 1935 Sep/Oct:242). From a psychoanalytical perspective, Susan Isaacs explained that it was only if parents had a free and loving, unselfish relationship with each other that the child could grow into freedom naturally and securely. In the Thirties, castigation of parents was often accompanied by advice about the ideal relations between parents and children.

3.3.4 The Father

> "If the father abuses his authority and the child has a good deal of strength of character, he will as an adolescent defy his father, and as a young man he will defy the laws of society and finally he will defy God. If the son is a weakling he will lie down under his father's tyranny and he will grow into a law-abiding though ineffectual citizen; he will fear God but he will seldom love him." (McCallum 1935 Sep/Oct:242)

There was seldom any reference to the authoritarian father because it was assumed that the case against him had been sufficiently well established by the end of the Twenties. Nevertheless, some concern remained with the paternal role

because the father represented authority and strength. He was responsible for shaping the child's attitude to life and if he failed to exercise his authority wisely, the child would suffer. The role of the father was to help the child resolve primary issues of desire and frustration, love and hate and anxiety and guilt (Isaacs 1936 Sep/Oct:242). The father needed to exercise his authority lovingly, based on an understanding of the child's needs and stage of development, rather than project onto the child his own frustrated ambitions (Engelbert 1938 Jul/Aug:210). The emancipatory pedagogy released the child from fear to establish new principles of father-child interaction predicated upon love.

3.3.5 The Mother

> "Last and commonest victim of the unwise parent is the over-mothered child. He has found all his life that invalidism pays, that incapacity, assumed shyness and diffidence strengthen the bond between him and his mother, and that 'effort tends to come between him and the Nirvana of her spoiling'." (Crichton-Miller 1931 Sep:330)

With the new emphasis in the Thirties upon normalised and loving parent-child relationships, the object of attention and criticism was increasingly the mother. For the first time the role of the mother was invested with significance. The devaluation of paternal authority and the recognition of the importance of the first five years for personality development, had the effect of elevating the maternal function, repositioning the mother within the family. A concomitant effect of this new emphasis on the maternal function was a heightened awareness of the problems she induced in her children through a wrong attitude towards them or a defective relationship.

The dominant mother was identified as the major maternal fault. In addition to Crichton-Miller's castigation of the dominant mother, a psychiatrist, Pryns Hopkins also wrote on the subject. He argued that it depended entirely upon the mother whether the child's nature was allowed to expand towards

freedom or be quelled by some moulding process (Pryns Hopkins 1931 Jan:17). Either through ignorance or a sadistic love of power, the mother created in her son a submissive and often selfish character and profoundly affected his relationship with other women (ibid:17). Her motives derived potentially from over-anxiety about his safety or fears connected with either her own upbringing or marital situation (ibid:18). Hopkins warned that:

> "To domineer over the child may break his spirit. He becomes outwardly submissive ... But all this is at the expense of depriving him of fine qualities which may be most useful both to himself and society, and at the cost of generating inwardly a terrific hatred." (ibid:18)

Interestingly, this desire on the part of the mother to mould the child's life corresponds to the 1920's attack on the authoritarian father. It is here translated to the mother because she is assumed to exercise the most influence over the young child. As with the critique of the autocratic father, the influence upon the son was the main cause for concern. Hopkins's thesis applied only to the mother-son relationship with no corresponding analysis for girls. Presumably, an attitude of dependence was more acceptable for girls or they were not treated or affected by the mother in the same way. In The New Era, the concern with the dominant mother was expressed by male psychiatrists only. It is a matter of speculation as to whether this concern echoed their relationship with their own mothers!

3.3.6 Towards a Conception of Normalised Parenting

> "Though we have found that instinct and emotion are not sufficient to guide parents in caring for and training their children, we cannot substitute knowledge for the love of children that is fundamental to family life. It is the wise combination of knowledge and love that must set our standards for future home life and parenthood." (Tilson 1930 Jul:12)

The keynote of parent education was that child study should be applied by parents in the context of a loving relationship. Many psychologists, psychiatrists, and even a parent, warned that knowledge was not enough (Hopkins 1931 Jan:19; Vaughan 1933 Apr:69). The mother was expected to love her child, representing an example of tenderness, kindness and love to enable the child to develop emotionally. It seems that the father determined the child's attitude to authority and the mother determined the emotional outlook (McCallum 1935 Sep/Oct:242).

There is an important gender division here in the separation of parental responsibilities so that the father represented authority and the mother, emotion. The quality of the mother's love was important. If she was unemotional towards the children, it seems that girls would grow up cold, unresponsive and even frigid (Hopkins 1931 Jan:19). In the case of the overloving mother, it is the son who suffered from her sensuous love to compensate for the lack of her husband's affection (ibid:19).

It appeared that parents also had to be taught how to love their child wisely. Dr Maria Te Walter, who organised the Parents and Children Supplement (see Chapter 4 for a fuller discussion of this feature), emphasised the supreme importance of parental love in giving emotional stability to the child and establishing the basis for the child to develop other loving relationships. The parents' 'love aim' was to encourage in the child, the right attitude to life and learning (Walter 1933 May:79). If parental love was to fulfil so many functions, it was inevitable that training was required:

> "the parent's love must be reinforced by some understanding of child development, child needs, child possibilities, so that it can decide the lines along which their relationship will develop." (ibid:79)

There was an attempt in The New Era to create a balance between knowledge and parental love (6). Neither alone was a sufficient basis for child socialisation.

3.3.7 Conclusion

The New Era's approach to parents can best be described in terms of "prescriptive patronage". It involved a two-pronged attack on parental ignorance. This was effected firstly, by attributing defective parent-child relationships to parental ignorance and secondly, by claiming that parents will fail to understand their children without training. The attention to the parental milieu was mostly critical, consisting of a catalogue of case histories that demonstrated the consequences of inadequate parenting. However, the critique of parenting also implied a norm of good parent-child relationships. Parent education was promoted as a necessary precondition for establishing good parent-child relationships. An interesting paradox arises here in that parents were encouraged to follow parent education courses in order to equip themselves for parenthood and yet they were expected to create the right environment for the natural development of the child predicated on parental love.

3.4 Conclusion to the Thirties

In the 1930's, The New Era incorporated parents into its project to transform the conditions of early childhood socialisation and to bring them into alignment with New Education principles. New Psychology provided the major informing perspective for the valuation and transformation of the parental milieu. What had begun as a limited field of research examining the individual pathology of delinquents was discovered to have universal application to all children and, by extension, to all parents. New Psychology was rapidly expanding its scope in the translation from a criminal model of young offenders to a psychological perspective on normal child development. What had begun as an academic discipline had become essential knowledge for all parents.

Parent education was addressed to the middle class readership of the journal with extension to parent circles or

parent-teacher associations. However, there was some ambivalence as to the target audience of parent education. It was mostly directed at mothers who assumed much greater importance in this period with the emphasis upon the first five years and emotional attachments. Nevertheless, inasmuch as there was scope for improvement in the paternal role, it was hoped that fathers would also participate.

Advice for parents did not amount to a blueprint of good parenting because this would have been contrary to the individualism of New Education. Nevertheless, the idea of the good parent, implicit in the concept of normal development, was based on a division of parental roles. For example the mother was held primarily responsible for the child's all-important early years and it was assumed that the mother was constantly with the child at home. The mother helped the child to establish emotional relationships whereas the father represented authority and strength and shaped the child's attitude to life. While the father went out to work the mother stayed at home and motherhood was assumed to be her vocation. Through parent education, mothers were attributed a dominant role within the family to ensure the successful socialisation of children. However, they were also schooled into a new position of mutual dependency with the child in which the valuation of the mother depended upon the child's adjustment to life.

The irony of the emancipatory pedagogy was that it offered mothers a spurious freedom. New Psychology was predicated upon a conception of the natural ie. middle class family that assumed an equality between its members that did not exist. Instead of transforming relationships within the family to create the equality necessary if the family were to represent the cornerstone of democracy, New Psychology effectively reinforced the status quo (7). Its only compensation for mothers was to raise their status to primary agents of the new cultural reproduction, but even this was conditional upon them performing this function effectively.

In the Thirties, New Education discourse concentrated on the family in order to realise its emancipatory pedagogy. Nevertheless, the primary interest was to emancipate the child and create a home environment conducive to establishing normal development. There is no grounds for concluding that New Education was emancipatory for the family. However, it is also clear that the family was implicated in New Education's strategy for creating a democratic society.

In a review of parent education, Tilson describes the changes in the family form that occurred as a result of changing ideas about its contribution:

> "In the patriarchal family the father was all-powerful, and his word was final. Doubtless in the first stages of the 'emancipation' of women we had many all-dominant mothers. And in the first chaos of new developments and new views of child care, not altogether past, when freedom without guidance was the slogan in the treatment of children, we doubtless had many families run by children without experience or maturity of judgment. Today parents need help in organising their family life in such a way that each member will have its share of responsibility and direction in the family life." (Tilson 1930 Jul:12)

It was anticipated that parent education would teach parents to raise their children and to reconsider their own relationship. This would enable them to improve the quality of their own lives as well as of their children (OT 1932 Nov:317). New Psychology heralded the accomplishment of a stable, democratic family unit as the cornerstone of the democratic nations (ibid:315). However, in spite of these claims, there was little interest in promoting equality between parents or within the family except insofar as it adversely affected the children.

It is significant that, at a time when new horizons were opening in the professions for middle class women to pursue careers, New Psychology reasserted their role as mothers within the family context. The irony of the emancipatory pedagogy was that it offered women spurious freedom. It manoeuvred both mother and child into a new position of mutual dependency.

Thus it seems that the emancipatory interest in the family was mostly an illusion.

4. Emancipatory Interest in the Nation

4.1 Introduction

The War profoundly affected both NEF policy and New Education discourse. In the Forties, the nation represented the major focus of New Education's emancipatory interest. This was expressed both in the policy changes of the NEF (see Chapter 2 for a fuller discussion of these) and in New Education discourse (see Chapter 6). New Education's ambition was to create the conditions for world unity and democracy. This section considers New Education's emancipatory interest in the nation only as it is expressed through revisions in the psychoanalytic theory of childhood socialization. Psychoanalysis proposed an explanatory framework to govern wartime strategies towards the family and offered a solution to the alleged crisis within the family evoked by conditions of war.

This section does not address educational strategies to promote world peace and international tolerance. These have been discussed in earlier chapters. The Forties was a period in which, amidst the disruption of family life, child study flourished. Psychiatrists welcomed the opportunity afforded by national evacuation schemes both to study the influence of environment on family life and to prove the indispensability of psychiatric services. This section is divided into two further sub-sections, the first examines the implications of evacuation policy and the second considers the new psychoanalytic principles of childhood socialization that attach such importance to the mother-child unity. The stable family represents the foundation of a future international democracy.

4.2.1 Evacuation

> "When life runs smoothly ... observation is difficult because ... the forces that mould our emotional life are

> not seen in isolation. We believe for instance that the things we most value are due to our living in families and that they are derived ultimately from our early experience of parental love, but we do not fully realise what the family means to us until it is disorganised. The evacuation therefore provides an important object of study because it will tell us not only about a present trouble, but also will help us to see more clearly the basic pattern of the environment in which we all grew up." (Rickman 1940 Mar:53)

In 1940, The New Era devoted an issue to 'The Emotional Problems of Evacuation' which was written by a group of Kleinian psychoanalysts and psychologists, who were also advising the government on the management of evacuation policy. Among the contributors were Susan Isaacs, Donald Winnicott and John Bowlby, all trained analysts with a Kleinian perspective. They were regular contributors to the journal in the Forties offering a popularised version of psychoanalysis in their advice to mothers.

John Rickman, also a Kleinian analyst, welcomed the evacuation as a golden opportunity for the observation and analysis of the effects of disruption upon family life. The detached scientist could afford to be objective "having no axe to grind, no special opinion to propagate, nor political or social doctrine to substantiate" (ibid:53). In fact, there was no evidence of such objectivity because the observations rested on the fundamental tenet of the value of family life. Rickman contradicted his assertion of objectivity when he concluded that the contributors to the special issue:

> "Show us what a precious thing we possess in safe keeping for those that grow out of us and live with us in our common human life - they throw new light on the meaning of home." (ibid:54)

4.2.2 The Separation of Mothers and Children For Evacuation

> "First let it be said that it is far better that the real babies should not go at all ... Moreover, so long as there are no air raids, there are powerful reasons for leaving the two, three and four year olds in the evacuation areas with their mothers ... Very young children away from their mothers with strangers for months at a time may suffer

> severe psychological damage. To run this risk when there is no bombing seems foolish. It would be tragic if more damage were to be caused by our precautions than by the weapons they were designed to protect us against."
> (Bowlby 1940 Mar:62)

The evacuation plans drawn up by the Ministry of Health included a proposal to evacuate under-fives without their parents and to accommodate them in nursery camps. This plan was abandoned on the insistence of psychiatrists who feared the potential psychological damage to young children separated from their mothers. At this stage, the evidence for this position derived from work in the child guidance clinics (8). Bowlby, drawing on his own research, observed that a large percentage of "nervous, difficult and delinquent children" had suffered early separation from their mothers and often experienced a succession of carers. When mother and child were later reunited, the child had become completely estranged from his mother (ibid:60).

In the context of evacuation, Bowlby's main concern was that if children were evacuated, they should be placed with a foster mother to experience continuity of care. If the child was placed in a communal nursery or experienced a succession of foster homes it was likely to suffer. He argued that "when this happens, the child is apt to grow up into a discontented and difficult adolescent and to be a chronic social misfit in later life" (ibid:60).

It is important to stress that the evacuation study confirmed the importance of the mother-child unity, which had been first identified as essential in the 1930's. The repositioning of the mother and child into a position of mutual dependency was partly a response to the growth of child analysis in the child guidance network in the Thirties, and the development of a Kleinian perspective in psychoanalysis. In the Forties, there was a shift away from a concern with maternal competence to privilege the mother-child unity regardless of the quality of maternal care. The uncritical sanctity of the mother-child relationship seemed to derive from

numerous case studies from child guidance clinics of children suffering trauma consequent upon separation from their mothers.

4.2.3 The Uprooted Child

> "Each child feels that he has left a large part of himself behind there in the great city, and does not know whether he will ever recover it again. His home may be poor and mean, he may in fact be ill-taught and trained. Yet to him, home is still home, it is still the focus and centre of his life, and that has suddenly gone."
> (Isaacs 1940 Mar:55)

The paramount concern of the contributors to the special issue on evacuation, was to explain the child's perspective to significant others including parents, social workers, billeting officers, politicians, foster parents etc. The trauma of evacuation experienced by children involved them coming to terms with being uprooted from all that was familiar to them and also facing the demands of a foster home. The child felt a sense of loss regardless of the desirability of the home environment. Isaacs gave the example of a boy who claimed that he even missed the hidings his father gave him (ibid:55). This valuation of the parental home stands in marked contrast to the Twenties' critique of the authoritarian father.

The behaviour problems manifested in the process of adjustment to foster homes were often the expression of unconscious anxieties concerning the parents' safety. The children blamed themselves for the separation from their parents in a re-enactment of early childhood conflicts of emotion. They feared that their removal from home was a punishment for aggressive/destructive thoughts about their parents:

> "In the dear and familiar life of the family, the child is able to some extent to overcome his early angers and hatreds and anxieties - at any rate the worst of them - by the continued comfort of his parents' presence and care and affection, as well as by what he learns to do for them in return. But now, suddenly deprived of this comforting give and take, the old nightmares of early childhood, his secret dread of having injured his parents by his defiant

> anger and hidden greed and destructiveness surge back upon him and he fears he will lose them for ever." (ibid:57)

The loss of all that was familiar induced feelings of fear and anxiety in the child which were further compounded by the demands of the foster home. The daily routines were inevitably different and the child learnt new habits manners and even new ways of speaking. This caused the child further anxiety that an acceptance of new norms of behaviour would imply a rejection of the parental home.

Problems of adjustment were most likely to occur where there were marked social class differences between the foster and parental home. In such cases, conflicts might arise when the foster mother offered new clothes and better food while the child refused to relinquish his/her clothes and would not eat the food. The advice to foster mothers in such cases was to give way to the child if giving up clothes raised such resistance (ibid:57).

The advice from psychiatrists to billeting officers was that as far as possible, evacuees and foster homes should be matched for class. The child's adjustment was more likely to be successful if placed in a home with a similar class background. When the child was placed with foster parents of a higher social class it was not only the child, but also his/her parents who were likely to be anxious. The parents were afraid that the child would prefer the foster home to the parental home and not want to return. One psychologist overheard a conversation between a foster mother and the child's real mother in which the former said:

> "'You know we don't want your child to be any different from what you would want yourself' .... The reply was 'Well its good of you - but she's speakin' different already, you know' and that parent was really envious of her neighbours's child, billeted in the gardener's cottage of the same house." (Thomas 1939 Nov:248)

The evacuation scheme brought class differences into sharp relief in the placement of evacuees. It was assumed that working class city children would thrive in the healthy,

natural, rural environment to which they were evacuated. If they were placed in middle-class homes they would enjoy good food, better clothes and a higher standard of living. Nevertheless, in spite of the positive attributes of the middle class home, measured in terms of material benefits, psychiatrists argued that the relationship between the child and the real mother was more important:

> "The boon of good food, country air, new experiences, a better way of life, are little worth if they are allowed to drive a wedge between the child and his own parents." (ibid:59)

It would appear that the instance of evacuation overturned the prevailing equation of a good home with its material underpinning and dependence upon a concept of maternal competence. Instead, the psychological mother-child bonding was invested with primary significance regardless of the material index of that relationship or the quality of maternal care.

4.2.4 The Deprived Mother

> "The opinion has been expressed that mothers are having such a good time being free to flirt, to get up late, to go to the cinema, or to go to work and earn good money, that they will certainly not want to have their children with them again. ... such an idea does not apply to the majority of mothers; and when such comment is true on the surface it is by no means necessarily true in a deeper sense, for it is a well-known human characteristic to become flippant under threat of a grief that cannot be faced." (Winnicott 1940 Mar:63)

Winnicott considered the plight of the deprived mother in his contribution to the Evacuation issue. He argued that the situation of the deprived mother should not be ignored because "nothing can compensate the average parent for loss of contact with a child" (ibid:65). The decision to evacuate the child was an agonising one for the mother and the experience of evacuation fraught with anxieties. The mother would rather look after the child herself and feared that the foster mother might either ill-treat the child or be a better mother. Thus it was not easy for the mother to co-operate with evacuation

because unconscious feelings and conflicts intervened (ibid:65).

It was important to recognise that mothers needed their children. According to Winnicott the mother:

> "organises her anxieties as well as her interests so as to be able to mobilise as much as possible of her emotional drive to that one end." (ibid:67)

Implicitly, Winnicott recognises the self-sacrifice involved in raising children, but he assumed that it was willingly undertaken. He suggests that women who complained about the burden of child care should not be taken seriously, that mothers "value being continuously bothered by her children's crying needs" and this holds good even if she openly complains of her family ties as "a plaguey nuisance" (ibid:67). It was assumed that the ultimate ambition of most women was to have children of their own. This is one example of Winnicott slipping into a moral register to convey the joys of motherhood while denying the effort involved.

In contrast to the foster mother, the plight of the deprived mother was worse:

> "To look after children may be hard and exacting work, it can feel like a war job. But just to be deprived of one's own children is a poor kind of war work, one which appeals to hardly any mother or father, and one that can only be tolerated if its unhappy side is duly appreciated." (ibid:68)

There was a striking contrast between Winnicott's perception of the job of the foster mother in looking after evacuees, which is described as hard and exacting, and that of the mother, for whom looking after her children is her ambition, her reward and even her need.

4.2.5 Conclusion

Psychiatrists and mental health specialists took advantage of the evacuation scheme to prove the value of their services.

They advised on evacuation policy and supervised the management of unbilletable children to minimise the danger of psychological damage. Their principal role was to explain the child's perspective and foster the well-being of evacuees. This explanatory function furnished the psychiatric field with an essential part in the decision-making process regarding children's welfare. It was also an opportunity to gain state recognition and sponsorship for the expansion and consolidation of its services.

The evacuation studies confirmed the significance of the mother-child dyad but did not initiate the concern with this relationship. Instead, psychiatrists offering advice on evacuation policy relied upon earlier research findings, based on case work with children in child guidance clinics. The evacuation experience was used to privilege the mother-child unity over and above any evaluation of the quality of the homes or maternal competence. This represented a significant shift from the Thirties when the instinctual knowledge of parents was not a good enough foundation for rearing children. The uncritical sanctity of the mother-child relationship derived from a Kleinian perspective and was endorsed by numerous case studies of children suffering trauma consequent upon separation from their mothers.

4.3 'War in the Nursery'(9).

Rewriting the Principles of Early Childhood Socialization

> "One reason why you should get to know your baby both in contentment and excitement is that he needs your help. And you cannot give this help unless you know where you are with him. He needs you to help him to manage the awful transitions from sleeping or waking contentment to all-out greedy attack. This could be said to be your first task as a mother, apart from routine, and a lot of skill is required which only the child's mother can possess." (Winnicott 1945 Jan:2)

Amidst the disruption of family life during the war, The New Era regularly offered advice to mothers, encouraging their efforts to maintain stability in their children's lives. Winnicott was well known in this period for the succession of articles he wrote for mothers. In 1944, he gave a series of radio broadcasts entitled "Happy children" which were reprinted in 1945 under the title 'Mothers and Young Children'. His approach was a curious blend of reassurance that mothers should rely on their instinct when dealing with their children and at the same time emphasising the importance of instruction to give a scientific basis to their instinctual knowledge.

In the Forties, it was no longer a case of providing the right environment for the child or understanding the process of child development. Rather, mothers needed to be acquainted with the baby's perceptions and experience of the world in order to respond to his needs. Winnicott's articles aimed to help mothers to know their babies. For example, when the baby is ready to feed, Winnicott explained how he feels:

> "At this time he's a bundle of discontent, a human being to be sure, but one who has raging lions and tigers inside him. And he is almost certainly scared by his own feelings. If no one has explained all this to you, you may become scared too." (10) (ibid:2)

This advice was unlikely to reassure mothers at all but Winnicott assumed that if the mother understood how the baby felt, she would know how to help him best. The child's

excitement at the mother's breast was described as akin to "what being put in a den of lions would be for us ... If you fail him it must feel to him as if the wild beasts will gobble him up" (ibid:3). This interpretation is based on Kleinian psychoanalysis, assuming that the child's adjustment to the environment is mediated by the mother and involves the child in coming to terms with innate aggressive instincts.

The theme of the mother as the child's best helper ran through Winnicott's advice. He argued that because mothers experienced so much during pregnancy and child birth, they were able to grasp the basic principles of infant care instinctively. The mother needed expert advice to confirm her instinctual knowledge (ibid:1). When a mother sought specialist advice, it was important to listen attentively to her because she knows the child. The specialist who ignored her information did so at his peril (ibid:16). However, at the same time he also claimed that "a good mother is the right judge of what is good for her own child, provided she is informed as to the facts and educated as to needs" (ibid). Thus there is an unresolved contradiction between the mother's instinctual knowledge and her need for instruction.

Winnicott frequently slipped into a moral register in describing the maternal function. Motherhood was inconceivable outside the context of a 'normal' family structure in which mother stays at home. He comments:

> "Everyone knows that the Englishman's home is his wife's castle. And in his home a man likes to see his wife in charge, identified with the home ...."(ibid:13)

In this idealised notion of the home, the management of domestic affairs is identified as a woman's pleasure. Moreover, Winnicott confidently maintained that women would rush home after their experience of war work "because nowhere else but in her own home is a woman in such command" (ibid:14). Finally, his discussion of the paternal role in child socialisation underlined the contradiction between the

valuation of the maternal function and her subordinate status within the home.

4.4 The Role of the Father

> "I would say that certain qualities of mother that are not essentially part of her gradually group together in the infant's mind, and these qualities draw to themselves the feelings which the infant at length becomes willing to have towards father. How much better a strong father who can be respected and loved than just qualities of mother, rules and regulations, permits and prohibitions ... so when father comes into the child's life as a father, he takes over feelings that the infant has already had towards certain properties of the mother, and it is a great relief to mother when father can take over in this way." (ibid:11)

In the intense concentration on the preservation of the mother-child couple, the father did not feature in discussions of children's needs for much of the war period. In the advice for mothers, Winnicott explained the role of the father in the child's psychic development. The father enters the life of the child at the point of transference of maternal authority. "He is the human being who stands for the law and order which the mother plants in the child's life" (ibid:11). His role was important as the bearer of authority but not essential. The child is accustomed to his coming and going but expects the mother to be constantly available.

Winnicott's analysis identified three main qualities of the father. He was a bearer of authority, a source of security and happiness for the mother and child and a playmate for the children. He also introduces to them the world outside the home when he:

> "gradually discloses the nature of the work to which he goes in the morning ... or when he shows the gun that he takes with him into battle." (ibid:12)

However, there is some ambivalence in Winnicott's account of the role of the father because he implies that it is enough for the father to be there for the children (ibid:12).

In the context of the war, many fathers could not even perform this function (11). In his absence, the mother was expected to shoulder the additional responsibility while keeping his image alive for the children. It was no coincidence that after the war, the importance of the father was reasserted. In the immediate aftermath, The New Era published a double issue on 'Fatherless Children'. The father was suddenly significant:

> "A father is the natural protector in the home. Children who are fatherless ... lose what can be one of the greatest formative influences in their lives. It is an incalculable loss and renders the task of growing up to stable masculinity or femininity far more difficult." (Sharp 1945 Jul:149)

If mothers had been expected to manage without fathers for the duration of war, psychoanalysts made it clear that this was not a desirable family structure. Numerous case studies were related, describing the effects of the loss of the father on the emotional development of the child.

Fatherless children were likely to become depressed and insecure or defiant and anti-social in the hope of bringing back the controlling father. Still others became dependent on the mother through fear of losing her too. Isaacs, in her article for this issue, linked early bereavement with the later development of anti-social and delinquent behaviour. She explained it as the child's attempt to come to terms with his grief (Isaacs 1945 Jul:161). In fact Isaacs contends that the loss of the father can never wholly be made good (ibid).

4.5 The Stable Family As the Cornerstone of Democracy

> "When father and mother are loving and united in the home, the child can reach out to independence and a life of his own, and yet keep an awareness of mutual affection and mutual need." (Isaacs 1945 Jul:159)

Psychoanalysts of a Kleinian persuasion promoted separate roles for parents in the context of a stable relationship as

the conditions for the normal, natural development of an infant (Sharp 1945 Jul:150; Isaacs 1945 Jul:159). The mother alone was not in any position to undertake the paternal role because "children need their mothers first of all and all of the time as mothers" (Sharp 1945 Jul:149). However, in the postwar emphasis upon the paternal role, his usefulness to the child was predicated upon a concept of the good father rather than Winnicott's version of him as a 'psychic prop'.

Psychoanalysts shared the conviction that hopes for future national stability rested with the family. For example, Winnicott claimed that:

> "my hopes are based on the stable and healthy families which I see building up around me, families that form the only basis for the stability of our society for the next couple of decades." (Winnicott 1945 Jan:16)

In the Forties, the mother was elevated to a position of dominance within the family as the primary agent of socialisation and upon her, psychoanalysts based their hopes for democracy. The mother's power was emotional rather than material and the need for constant maternal availability for the child, meant that mothers remained in a position of economic dependency within the family. It is ironic that, in the promotion of the stable family as the unit of democracy there was no attention to the unequal relations within the family.

4.6 Conclusion

Psychoanalysis provided the major psychological perspective in the Forties dealing with the management of problem children and proposing a theory of child development. The dilemma for Kleinian analysts was that in the significance they attached to the mother-child relationship there was little scope for therapeutic intervention. This position entailed a negation of the environmentalism of the Twenties and Thirties, when the investigation of the parental milieu incorporated a concept of maternal competence based on the mother's knowledge of child development. In the Forties, parental patronage was

replaced by maternal reverence predicated on maternal availability. The role of psychiatry was reduced to advice for mothers to reassure them of the soundness of their instinctual knowledge. The role of the analyst was simply to explain the child's perspective to the mother.

Nevertheless, the importance of psychoanalysis in shaping The New Era's perspective in this period should not be underestimated. The tension between the superior knowledge of the therapist and the uncritical sanctity of the mother-child unity remained unresolved. The Kleinian perspective involved a revision of Klein which Riley (1983) describes as "Kleinianism rendered environmental" (Riley 1983:82). The mother-child unitary system was the environmentalism which Winnicott, in particular, introduced into child analysis. In this addition there was a convergence with the Freudian perspective that considered the external environment and techniques of infant care. It is significant that both Kleinian and Freudian perspectives (through the work of Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham on the Hampstead War Nursery) shared a platform in The New Era, although the dominant perspective was Kleinian.

This section has focused upon New Education's emancipatory interest in the nation as expressed through its revised theory of childhood socialization. The family is identified as the main agency of social transformation. New Education discourse ascribed fundamental importance to stable family life as the foundation for future democracy. However, New Education's vision of national social transformation was predicated upon a fundamental inequality within the family.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Relationship Between the Analysis of New Education Discourse (in Chapter 6) and its Emancipatory Interests in this Chapter

The aims of the two chapters are different. The discussion of New Education's emancipatory interests fleshes out the structural analysis of Chapter 6. Here, full reign was given to the language and ethos of New Education rhetoric to appreciate its beguiling optimism. Unlike Chapter 6, this analysis is not based upon any precise quantification of articles in support of the arguments. It draws upon editorials as well as articles with the effect that the former draw out and repeat the important issues, highlighting the emancipatory interests of New Education discourse. This analysis cuts across the classification scheme of the content analysis. Whereas the content analysis specified all the practical areas of concern of the discourse and revealed its relative inattention to the family, this chapter addresses the emancipatory foci of New Education in which the family plays an integral part.

There are also many similarities between the findings of the two chapters. This is to be expected given that both analyses derive from the same articles. This chapter describes in more detail the same trends that were identified in the arrangement of the theoretical perspectives as they pertain to New Education's emancipatory interests. The concept of educative freedom in the 1920's was suffused with philosophical, religious and psychological ideas that derived from the pedagogic bricolage. The relationship between the psychological perspectives is also described more fully in this chapter, demonstrating their relative influence upon the dominant theories of childhood socialization in each of the decades. It seems as if Chapter 6 provides the empirical base for the more in-depth discussion in this chapter, of New Education's emancipatory interests. The content analysis identifies the structure of New Education discourse and this

chapter gives it texture.

5.1 Review of the Major Hypothesis

This chapter tests the hypothesis that New Education discourse implied the transformation of the concepts of the child, family and nation as preconditions for a new internationalism. The analysis of the discourse in this chapter documents the changing modalities of childhood socialization. In the Twenties, the major transformation was anticipated through education alone. In an atmosphere of post-war optimism, the emancipatory pedagogy demanded conditions of absolute freedom so that the nation's youth could strive for world peace and democracy. The idea that New Education might achieve this world-transformatory mission was one of the main tenets of the NEF. It was based on a philosophy of "universal personalism" that ascribed absolute autonomy to education as the agency of social change.

In the Thirties, New Education incorporated the family into its project. Visions of social transformation were based on a dual focus upon home and school in recognition of the importance of early childhood socialization. This period was informed by a philosophy of "holism" which embraced the whole child and required an intensive focus upon the parental milieu. However, the emancipatory interest in the family was limited to the extent to which it could provide the ideal conditions for normal child development.

With the outbreak of war, New Education's illusions about the natural goodness of mankind were shattered. Bellicosity was traced back to man's innate aggressive instincts that were unresolved in the nursery. Thus the emancipation of the nation was traced back to and found to depend upon the early mother-child relationship. However, the extent to which New Education was emancipatory in its intentions towards the child, family and nation is open to debate.

The transformation from the old education to the new undermined prevailing norms of childhood socialisation to construct new systems of educational and familial organisation. The concept of disciplinary society changed. The old system relied upon the external imposition of authoritarian constraints and obedience exacted by physical coercion. It was based on the medieval theology of original sin. New Education implied the opposite, deriving its conception of the child from philosophical notions of natural goodness. Its ideal was complete freedom from all restraints but, there was a gradual recognition that freedom was predicated upon the construction of an appropriate educative and familial environment. The emancipatory pedagogy assumed that under these conditions, the free personality of every child would emerge. Its principle of realisation was love. The discipline of the old education was external and visible whereas that of the New was internal and invisible to the child. The emancipatory interest in the child implied a new and total surveillance of all aspects of the child's behaviour.

New Education reconstructed familial relations in the Thirties and Forties to establish specific roles for each parent. The mother was the main focus of attention as the primary agent of childhood socialisation. Motherhood was likened to a career and described as a natural vocation. In the Thirties with the professionalisation of mothering, the emphasis was upon training in the principles of child development. However, in the Forties, there was a reversal back to the importance of the mother's instinctual knowledge, with advice from psychoanalysts repackaged as reassurance for the mother, to confirm her instincts.

Nevertheless, the result was the same, child socialisation was predicated upon constant maternal availability. In exchange for a new high status within the family as a love specialist, the mother was more profoundly ensnared within the domestic sphere, restricting both her time and social space. The renegotiation of the maternal function had been achieved

by an ensemble of experts, predominantly male psychoanalysts, acting in the best interests of the child but without consulting mothers. The attitude of these experts was one of prescriptive patronage towards mothers. At a time when women's career horizons were being extended, New Education staunchly advocated that mothers should stay home. Given their resulting dependency upon the husband, it seems unlikely that New Education offered emancipatory potential to the family. Finally, New Education's emancipatory interest in the nation was also illusory because it was predicated on the family as the foundation for democracy. It has been argued that as the family structure was profoundly unequal, it would be unable to provide the cornerstone of democracy.

5.3 New Education and Class

New Education aimed to transform middle class educational and familial relations. In spite of the Fellowship's objective of universal application and its proclamations of rising above class divisions, New Education was underpinned by class-based assumptions. In the Twenties, the ideal educative environment was rural and based on outdoor and creative activities, both of which required adequate space and facilities. The application of New Education was initially only feasible in the private progressive boarding schools. These were attended by the middle classes. In the Thirties, parent education was implicitly directed towards a middle class audience.

Undoubtedly, the primary beneficiaries of parent education were middle class mothers. This was inevitable given the professionalisation of motherhood that such training implied. It was predicated on the assumption of constant maternal availability and based on a model of middle class familial relations in which the mother stays at home. It was a mark of the underlying conservatism of New Education that the importance attached to mothering meant that the mother was dependent upon her husband both economically and emotionally for her security and happiness.

This chapter confirms the main hypothesis that New Education implied the transformation of the child, family and nation as preconditions for a new internationalism. However, the emancipatory potential of New Education is considered to be mostly illusory. It involved total surveillance of the child and mother to ensure the conditions for natural child development and the emancipation of the nation was unlikely to succeed when it rested upon a profoundly unequal family structure. The class assumptions of New Education discourse will be examined in more detail in Part III.

Footnotes Chapter 7

1. Self-government was first adopted in America where juvenile delinquents were encouraged to organise their own custodial community. The initiator of the Junior Republics was W.R. George in 1895. In England, the first experiment was financed by Mr. George Montagu who appointed Homer Lane (an American who had worked in a Junior Republic) to run The Little Commonwealth. The Community opened in 1913 for boys and girls based on three principles - love, self responsibility and self government (Stewart 1968:86). The Little Commonwealth was described enthusiastically by Miss Bazeley in an article in The New Era. A.S. Neill described successful experiments with self-government in a German reform school that he visited.

2. For example, in the early Thirties, a chair of 'Education and Psychology of Children' was created for Dr. Henri Wallon at the College de France, Paris (Boyd and Rawson 1968:89). Similarly, at the London Institute of Education, Sir Percy Nunn created a chair in child development for Dr Susan Isaacs in 1933 (Dixon 1986:8). The Institute was probably the first university or teacher training college in England to establish child development as an academic department. In an analysis of developmental psychology, Walkerdine (1984) comments that there were two departments of psychology at the Institute - Psychology and Child Development (Walkerdine 1984:200). Psychology concentrated upon mental measurement. It was initially run by Cyril Burt and later by Professor Hamley, both of whom were involved in the NEF.

3. It seems that Susan Isaacs nevertheless distinguished between the academic study of child development and its popularisation for parents. Walkerdine quotes the opening remark of Social Development in Young Children:

> "This book is addressed to the scientific public and in particular to serious students of psychology and education. It is not intended as a popular exposition, whether of the psychological facts or of the relevant educational theory." (Isaacs in Walkerdine 1984:180)

4. There are interesting parallels between mental hygiene in the 1930's and the earlier eugenics movement that encouraged middle class women to reproduce the imperial race and thereby improve the national stock. In the 1930's, The New Era anticipated that through the dissemination of New Psychology to parents (predominantly but not exclusively mothers), they would raise a psychologically healthier class of individuals:

> "more and more we feel that psychology will not be used only for remedial purposes but as a preventive measure so that we may, through wise handling of

children, raise a loftier race." (OT 1932 Jul:318)

5. Rose argues that New Psychology provided the rationale for the clinic:

> "its practical, theoretical and therapeutic orientation, and the link which it established between the psychical, the familial and the social was instantiated in the way in which the Tavistock combined diagnosis and therapy in the clinic itself with the investigation of family relations in the home." (Rose 1985:198).

6. Walkerdine (1984) makes a similar point with reference to both teachers and parents. She claims that "it is scientific training which ensures correct normalized loving" (Walkerdine 1984:185).

7. Rose (1985) explains how New Psychology reinforces the status quo:

> "A psychological rationale had been superadded to the moral rationale for the existence and promotion of the family, but simultaneously the family that was to be promoted had been limited to the natural family, for it had something which was not present in any substitutes. The natural wish of men and women was to be husbands and wives, parents and homemakers. And the natural place to raise a child was its own family since here the wishes of the parents to have a child and the need of a child for its parents coincided. A new type of family history had been made possible, one where the relations between the biological, the psychological, the moral and the social were not direct - as in degeneracy and eugenics - but indirect." (Rose 1985 :186).

8. Riley (1983) argues that Bowlby's main concern in the context of evacuation was that no scheme should be considered which failed to take account of his conclusion that "the prolonged separation of small children from their homes is one of the outstanding causes of the development of the criminal character" (Bowlby quoted from Riley 1985:96). Riley's main argument is that maternal deprivation theory was not dreamed up in the War as a conspiracy to force women back into the home and to close down nurseries. The theory had its roots in Bowlby's research in child guidance clinics in the Thirties.

9. The title 'war in the Nursery' is borrowed from a fascinating book of the same name by Denise Riley (1983). Her analysis of the popularisation of psychoanalysis during the Second World War refers to the writing of Isaacs, Winnicott, Bowlby and others in The New Era and the influence of their ideas of mother and child on wartime policies. The analysis of the journal in the 1940's supports Riley's analysis and will draw upon some of her insights.

10. Riley (1983) comments on this aspect of Winnicott's advice, that it contained 'an alarming menagerie of wild beasts of the mind ... The infant is at once a dangerous animal, and assailed by animal dangers." (Riley 1983:89).

11. Riley argues that for the duration of the war the father was abandoned:

> "He is a useful psychic sponge for the inevitable aggression of the child ... While such perilous psychic negotiations between child and mother were been pursued, the wartime father could unfold the nature of life outside the jungle of the home ... The father is dropped out of the picture altogether to return as a weapon-demonstrating visitor; this theoretical vanishing of the father from most current psychoanalytic speech coincided with the social stress - which was indifferent to the actual numbers of absent men - on the vanishing of the father to the war." (Riley 1983:88)

P A R T III

SOCIAL CLASS ORIGINS OF PROGRESSIVISM

Introduction to Part III

Part II comprised a detailed analysis of the intellectual field of New Education through an evaluation of The New Era. Part III examines the specificity of the journal as pedagogic relay of New Education discourse and the social class origins and implications of progressivism.

Chapter 8 offers a comparison between The New Era and two contemporaneous journals to test the hypothesis that The New Era was unique as the conduit of New Education's pedagogic messages. It is essential to isolate the origins of New Education discourse in order to make the inferences in the following chapter, about the social class origins of progressivism. Chapter 9 examines the social class identity of the New Education movement and its discourse. The chapter reviews the class assumptions that underpin New Education to test the hypothesis that the social origins of the NEF can be located in the new middle class caring professions and their academic supports.

CHAPTER 8

THE SPECIFICITY OF THE NEW ERA AS THE PEDAGOGIC RELAY OF NEW EDUCATION: AN ASSESSMENT OF TWO JOURNALS CONTEMPORARY WITH THE NEW ERA

1. Introduction

This chapter tests the hypothesis that The New Era is unique in its assembly of the pedagogic bricolage that constituted the New Education field in the period under study. It is important to verify that New Education was specific to the journal in order to provide the basis for inferences in Chapter 9 about the social class origins of progressivism. Few journals were published in the 1920's and the two journals chosen for comparison with The New Era, both represent different aspects of education. The assessment of these journals firstly includes an appraisal of their institutional features; origins, objectives, editors and organization of the contents. Secondly, a content analysis identifies their spectrum of perspectives and applications. The analysis demonstrates the journals' points of convergence with and divergence from The New Era.

2. The Journal of Education and School World (The Journal)

2.1 Institutional Arrangements: Origins and Editors

The history of this journal was charted in a commemorative article marking the seven-hundredth issue. Its origins extended back to the 1830's, in a publication by The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. This society has been described as a "liberal middle-class association" (CCCS 1981:34). The English Journal of Education succeeded the first, and ran from 1847-1867. It was the forerunner of The Journal of Education which began in 1879. The Journal allegedly "stood for progress in education" (1927 Nov:789). One of the first editors, Francis Storr, a scholar-journalist, established the objectives as follows:

> "The Journal was the first English periodical which envisaged education, from the university to the elementary school, as a great national enterprise and which drew its contributors from the widest possible field, not only of professional experts, but also of persons of distinction in literature and in science. To that policy, initiated by the far-seeing Francis Storr, The Journal seeks to remain true." (The Journal 1927 Nov:789)

The objectives were fourfold:

1) To take an active part in educational issues especially regarding the professionalisation of teaching. The Journal fully supported initiatives to train and register teachers as well as teacher union endeavours to secure reasonable pay and conditions.
2) To promote a broad conception of education, encouraging the extension of state provision and at the same time continuing to support the efficient private school. The Journal had a reputation for drawing attention to bad practices in private schools underlining its concern with credentialism. The Journal claimed to be the first to recognise the educational work of women through its policy of offering a platform to all those with a message. Moreover, it promoted a broad curriculum, incorporating modern studies into school timetables.
3) The Journal publicised the work of educational societies, ranging from the Froebel Society to the Association of Heads and Assistant Masters and Mistresses. In this, the meetings, events and international conferences organised by the New Education Fellowship were frequently mentioned.
4) A section was devoted to 'Foreign and Dominion Notes'. These were not included in the content analysis because they mainly announced conferences, exhibitions, events etc.

In 1918, School World, another magazine, was incorporated into The Journal. School World, edited by Mr. R.A. Gregory and Mr. A.T. Simmons was written by and for teachers, with an especial emphasis on school practice. These editors took over joint responsibility for the amalgamated Journal of Education

and School World. A few years later, following the death of Mr. Simmons, Mr. Dunkerley succeeded him as editor, working with Mr. Gregory until both retired in 1939. Interestingly, Mr. Salter-Davies, an educational administrator and well-known member of the NEF became the next editor. He was assisted by Mr. Lauwerys, lecturer at the University of London Institute of Education and also prominent in the Fellowship. An important interconnection was thus formed between The Journal and the NEF.

2.2 Organization of The Journal of Education and School World

The Journal was a monthly publication that cost eight pence (8d) per issue (8 shillings per year) in the 1920's. This cost less than The New Era at one guinea per year. The difference in subscription possibly reflected the social and economic background of the journal's respective markets. It seemed likely that The Journal targeted the ordinary teacher in state schools, whereas The New Era, especially in the Twenties, aimed more at teachers in the private sector as well as teacher training colleges and universities.

The topography of The Journal remained fairly consistent over time. Its format reinforced the idea that it was a hybrid between an academic journal and an educational newspaper. The Journal was between the two in size and consisted of 60-70 pages per issue. The contents were divided into sections, with certain regular features and a number of articles.

Unlike The New Era, the articles proved not to be the mainstay of The Journal, reflecting its ambiguous status as an academic enterprise. The "Occasional Notes" provided information on such current events as the proceedings of state education committees, legislative changes or teachers pay and conditions. This section alerted the readership to issues of professionalism and state education and demonstrated The Journal's overwhelming concern with teachers' status and conditions.

"Personal Paragraphs" proved an educational equivalent to a gossip column, detailing changes of headships in schools, university appointments, obituaries etc. "Topics and Events" kept readers informed about meetings, conferences etc organised by various associations including teacher unions and the NEF. Two regular features in every issue were the prize competitions first introduced by Francis Storr and correspondence. The Journal, attempted a dialogue with its readership about its content in a way that rarely occurred in The New Era.

Each month, several articles appeared on a range of educational issues. Increasingly, and especially in the 1930's, an ongoing theme was adopted for the year, for example, School Libraries (1933) and University Entrance (1935), when at least one article per issue was based on that theme. "Foreign and Dominion Notes" surveyed world educational events, conferences, policy changes etc. but was rarely discursive or detailed in the way that The New Era approached world education.

The final part of The Journal was always reviews, minor notices and books of the month. An extensive part of each number was devoted to a wide range of advertisements covering teaching appointments, courses, examination notices, schools, tuition, books etc. The scale of advertising suggested a fairly extensive and predominantly teacher readership.

2.3 Content Analysis of The Journal of Education and School World

A content analysis of the articles only, was undertaken at two levels. Every issue from 1920-1950 was examined to determine the full extent of New Education coverage in the articles. The author and title of relevant articles were recorded. In addition, an in-depth analysis was conducted of all the articles in a one-year period and repeated at five-yearly intervals. Starting with 1920, this gave a clear indication of the major interests expressed in The Journal.

The articles were classified under ten headings, but only one of these was a Perspective, New Education. The main criteria for classifying an article under New Education were descriptions of its movements and methods or experiments in school practice for example, the use of the Dalton Plan. Articles by well known New Educators and articles on perspectives associated with New Education, such as New Psychology and psychoanalysis were also included. The remaining nine categories were all Applications; Curriculum; World education; General education issues; Further higher education; Educational administration; School organisation; Physical welfare and the War (1930's/1940's only). These categories were chosen on the basis of a sample survey of the contents pages of five issues from one year in each decade (1924, 1934 and 1944). They reflected some of the Applications from the content analysis of The New Era in chapter 6, in so far as they were relevant.

The range of Applications in The Journal was generally less extensive than in The New Era. However, there were two additional headings in the classification of The Journal. These were General educational issues and Further/higher education. All the articles in The New Era could be classified as New Education so there was no need for a General educational issues category. This category had a wide brief in The Journal including, for example, articles on the payment by results system or the aims of education or on general intelligence. The results were tabulated separately for each year but with totals for each decade for comparative purposes. The results provide the basis for the discussion below (Table 1 in Appendix 8).

New Education did not enjoy extensive coverage in The Journal. Just under 50 articles (out of a total of almost 400) appeared in the thirty year span. There were 19 in the 1920's, 9 in the 1930's and 19 in the 1940's. Most of the New Education articles considered its methods and movements, such as a series of six, featured in 1923, written by prominent New

Educators for example, Dr. Boyd, Dr. Kimmins and Professor Nunn.

At least four articles on psychological aspects of New Education were contributed by Cyril Burt. New Psychology constituted approximately one-quarter of the New Education articles. By contrast, there was little acknowledgement of the importance of Psychoanalysis. Only two of the New Education articles adopted a psychoanalytic perspective. Both were by psychoanalysts, one by D. Tucker (1921 May:281) and the other by Dr. Margaret Lowenfeld on "The Apparently Backward Child", her special interest (1947 Nov:598). She had written fairly extensively for The New Era in the Thirties.

The Journal lacked the range of authors and diversity of institutional perspectives that characterised The New Era. Of the articles on New Education in The Journal, half were written by university lecturers, while the remainder were mainly teachers, administrators or from teacher training colleges.

The results of the content analysis (Appendix 8 Table 1), revealed that Curriculum was the major Application in all three periods. This supported the earlier assertion that the curriculum was an area in which The Journal encouraged discussion, in the hope that in future, it would be more broadly-based. Articles on modern studies, technical/ vocational education and the role of examinations came under this heading. Both The Journal and The New Era attached importance to the curriculum, but they treated it differently. This Application peaked in both journals in the 1930's. One of the professed aims of The Journal was to cover the range of educational provision from the elementary school to the university. The categories of General educational issues and Further/higher education reflected this interest and, across the three periods, ranked second and third respectively. By contrast, The New Era, proved more child-centred in its attention to nursery, primary and secondary schooling only.

It is interesting to find that the Teacher, representing the main priority of The Journal, ranked only fourth in the article analysis. These articles dealt mainly with the professionalisation of teaching and the extension of their powers over the management of education. However, in a retrospective article on the influence and aspirations of The Journal, Bridge emphasised the fundamental importance of the teacher. The training and registration of teachers had been actively encouraged by the first editor, Francis Storr. He had an expectation of teachers forming a self-governing profession, enjoying higher status and greater powers. The support for teachers rested on the recognition of their value:

> "... for the teacher is what matters most in education, and all administrative and educational systems are nothing but machinery for bringing teachers face to face with children." (Bridge The Journal 1927 Nov:798)

However, it was chiefly in the "Occasional Notes" that progress towards the registration and professionalisation of teaching received a regular commentary. There was also full support for teacher union struggles to secure a decent wage and reasonable conditions of service. It was very unusual to find the conjunction of support for the professionalisation of teaching and union struggles, but in The Journal they were integral aspects of teacher professionalism.

The importance The Journal ascribed to teachers pay, status and conditions, marked an essential difference between it and The New Era. The latter was indifferent to teachers and hardly engaged with educational politics at all. Instead, The New Era demonstrated concern about the adequacy of teachers' personalities to guide children through their education. While The Journal was teacher-oriented and more interested in institutional analysis and change, The New Era was wholly dedicated to the needs of the child and abstracted issues of changing educational consciousness. This difference in approach between the two journals underlines the fact that The Journal was addressed to teachers in state schools whereas

The New Era would have circulated more among teachers in private schools.

The Journal claimed great consistency in its aims and objectives which, to a limited extent is demonstrated through the content analysis. The most popular categories were Curriculum and Teacher which retained first and fourth rank respectively in each period. The least important categories were New Education and Physical welfare which were also constant over time. Physical welfare ranked bottom in all three periods. It was surprising to discover so little concern about the physical condition of children in school given that the 1920's and 1930's were characterised by world economic depression. This absence was notable in both journals emphasising their lack of synchrony with the wider social context. It also reinforces the fact that both targeted the middle class. This audience would be more concerned about the mental welfare of children. Education has an intrinsic value for the middle class which insulates it from the socio-economic context.

A number of categories were consistent in two out of the three periods. These were Educational administration, General and Further education in the Twenties and Thirties. This was followed by a rise in the first and a fall in the others in the Forties. World education was higher in the Twenties and Forties and School organisation lower. The War category influenced the Forties picture and constituted 15% of the articles in that period.

The change of editors affected the choice of articles in the Forties, accounting for the rise in the Applications of Educational administration and World education. These Applications reflected the special interests of Mr. Salter-Davies and Dr. Lauwerys respectively. However, New Education did not similarly rise. This further reinforced the differences in audience and functions of the two journals. The Journal was pragmatic and appealed more to teachers whereas

The New Era was esoteric and academic in its orientation and appeal.

2.4 Differences Between The Journal of Education and School World and The New Era

The Journal was written essentially by and for teachers. It had a wide circulation judging by the extensive advertising, which clearly targeted teachers. Francis Storr, one of the first editors, described as a scholar-journalist, set the tone of The Journal and in so doing, reflected this dualism through its academic interests and educational news.

In essence, The Journal was pragmatic and political, engaging specifically with the professionalisation of teaching but also documenting state policy and legislative changes. It was progressive both in its support for teacher union struggles and in its critique of the narrowness of traditional education. Above all, The Journal stood for efficiency, supporting initiatives to improve the calibre of teaching and the quality of educational provision within schools.

The content analysis confirms that The Journal was predominantly descriptive, preferring to discuss the Applications of education rather than its underlying theoretical Perspectives. New Education was hardly represented among the articles in spite of The Journal's claims to be progressive. However, it was clear that The Journal was addressing the institutional features of the school and the teaching profession and was concerned with changes at this level.

There was no antipathy towards the NEF, whose activities and conferences generally received favourable coverage. The New Era, by contrast, drew on a smaller, more exclusive professional audience in spite of its pretensions to reach all those concerned with children's welfare. Unlike The Journal, it revealed a tendency to academicism derived mainly from the

contributions of specialists such as university and teacher-training lecturers, psychoanalysts and psychologists.

The New Era aimed to create a discourse rather than simply provide a description of education. This was especially evident in the Twenties and Forties when over 50% of the articles discussed Perspectives. The New Era was indifferent to teachers' professional identity but not to their personality, advocating changes at the level of consciousness. It was apolitical whereas The Journal was essentially political. The New Era focused predominantly on the needs of the child whereas The Journal was not predisposed to such exclusive child-centredness.

3. The British Journal of Educational Psychology

3.1 Institutional Arrangements: Origins and Editors

The British Journal of Educational Psychology is a serious academic publication which comes under the auspices of the Training College Association and the British Psychological Society. Its origins can be traced back to The Journal of Experimental Pedagogy in the early 1900's. This was replaced in 1923, by The Forum of Education, edited by Professor C.W. Valentine. He held the chair in education at the University of Birmingham and was an eminent educational psychologist.

The editorial board consisted of twelve, predominantly male, university-based, academics, many of whom were psychologists. There was also a number of NEF members. The editorial board consisted of the following members:

* Professor John Adams - Education. University of London.
* Professor T. Percy Nunn - Education, University of London.
* Cyril Burt - Then Psychologist to London County Council.

These men were all involved in the NEF and connected with the London Day Training Centre, (later the University of London Institute of Education).

Professor Robin Archer - Education (statistics) University College, North Wales.

Professor H. Bompas-Smith - Education, University of Manchester.

Professor John Strong - Education, University of Leeds.

* Professor Helen Wodehouse - Education, University of Bristol.

Professor Godfrey Thomson -Education. Armstrong College, Newcastle.

Professor W.H. Moberly - Philosophy, University of Birmingham.

* Dr. H. Crichton-Miller - Director of Tavistock Clinic.

Sir Graham Balfour - Director of Education for Stafford.

* Winifred Mercier - Principal of Whitelands College.

(* NEF involvement or membership)

The first editorial claimed that the editorial board covered a range of specialisms:

> "in education, philosophy, psychology of education, in statistical and experimental enquiries, in special methods of teaching, administration and organization of education and in medical aspects of education."
> (The Forum 1923 Vol I 1:3)

Certainly, the diversity of interests within this eminent collection promised a broad spectrum of perspective and content in The Forum. This potential was not subsequently realised.

It was ironic that the journal had been renamed to escape the narrow conception of education implied in the term 'pedagogy'. Pedagogy is defined as the science of education and this constituted the primary objective of The Forum. Thus the former title provided a more apt description than the wider perspective implied in the new title. The editor claims that The Forum encompassed a range of articles that would have been omitted under the former title. Its objectives, stated in the first editorial were:

> "The journal continues to attend to experimental and statistical enquiries bearing on psychology and other problems of education and to experimental trials of new methods with critical accounts of experimental solutions.

> If the study of education is to be lifted above the level of a mere interchange of opinions, if it is to approximate to a science, it must insist that where actual facts can be obtained instead of suppositions, where an experiment can supply evidence on a problem, in all such cases statistics and experiment must be used."
> (Valentine, The Forum 1923 Vol I:3)

The crux of The Forum, and where it differed most from The New Era, was in the significance each attached to establishing education as a science. The Forum emphasised the practical method as "the ultimate end and justification of scientific enquiry and psychological analysis". The New Era assembled a collection of perspectives to provide an academic base for New Education. The Forum proposed its services as a centre for the co-ordination of such enquiries, in order to provide a meeting place for "psychologists, investigators and teachers" (ibid). A further objective was to report educational movements in foreign countries.

In many respects The Forum, at its outset, purported similar objectives to The New Era, especially as a medium of communication between sympathetic intellectuals and in the interest in world education. However, the coincidence of interests was illusory. The Forum addressed the intellectual field exclusively, in particular psychologists. It promoted education as a science, whereas The New Era generated new theories of educational practice. The ultimately narrow objective, to create a science of education, belied the range of specialisms boasted by the editorial board. As the Twenties progressed, it became increasingly clear that the editorial board bore little relation to the content or practice of The Forum.

In 1930, The Forum changed its title to The British Journal of Educational Psychology and came under the joint control of The Training College Association and The British Psychological Society. The new journal incorporated its predecessor and intended a broad conception of educational psychology. This was on the grounds that almost all problems

in education had a psychological aspect. The new title more accurately identified the journal's main interest.

Professor Valentine continued to edit the journal, retaining the same editorial board, with a number of additions. The new members had a greater psychological orientation. They were James Drever and the then Lieutenant Wynn-Jones. Professor Spearman, renowned for his statistical technique of factor analysis had also joined the editorial board in the late Twenties. In 1933, Mr. P.B. Ballard*, a psychologist, became a member of the board followed by Professor H.R. Hamley* in 1935, who succeeded Sir John Adams. In 1940, Arnold Gessell, the American child development psychologist also joined.

A new initiative in 1930 consisted in international representatives to further enhance the journal's credentials. Among them were:

Charlotte Buhler - Vienna. Psychoanalyst and child specialist.

* Professor Peter Petersen - Hamburg. Education originator of Jena Plan.

* Professor Jean Piaget - Geneva. Director of the International Bureau of Education.

Professor E.L. Thorndike - USA. Psychologist of behavioural school interested in Learning theory.

Professor L. Terman - USA Psychologist involved in I.Q. tests.

(*) Involvement or membership of NEF.

The editorial board boasted a wide-ranging psychological approach reflecting its many schools of thought. The range of perspective did not filter through to the content of the journal. It can only be presumed that the main function of the board was to establish the journal's credentials. Only the hard core of behaviourists such as Terman, Thorndike and Spearman could conceivably have had an active involvement with the content and practice of the journal.

3.2 The Organisation of The Forum and The British Journal of Educational Psychology

The Training College Association produced The Forum in the 1920's, at least from 1925 onwards. In the late Twenties, the British Psychological Society approached the association with its proposal for a journal entirely devoted to educational psychology. The renamed journal, first published in 1930, was jointly controlled by the two organizations. The Forum, produced three times a year, cost one shilling and sixpence (1/6d) per issue. Its successor, The British Journal of Educational Psychology, also published three times per year, cost two shillings and sixpence per issue in 1930, rising to one pound per annum shortly afterwards. The annual subscription was similar to The New Era.

The target audience was specialists in the intellectual field, specifically educational psychologists. Despite the change of title, the topography of the journal remained the same, following the pattern of conventional academic journals. The length of issues varied from 80-100 pages. The articles constituted the major feature, with approximately five per issue. These varied in length from short, three page, articles to full length ones of fifteen pages.

The subsidiary content was the book reviews which took two forms. They were either extended critical notices, sometimes written by members of the editorial board, or short summaries. Included among the reviews, was a short section on the contents of foreign journals. From 1938 onwards, the journal ran an index of degree theses in educational psychology incorporating a short summary of their content. A few advertisements appeared in each issue.

3.3 Content Analysis of The Forum and The British Journal of Educational Psychology

The apparent coincidence of objectives in The Forum and The New Era prompted a more detailed content analysis than had been initially envisaged. The similarity between the journals implied that New Education was not specific to The New Era and represented a wider academic trend in the Twenties. It seemed as if The Forum might disprove the hypothesis that The New Era was unique as pedagogic relay of New Education. To test this hypothesis, every issue of The Forum and its successor, The British Journal of Educational Psychology was examined. The content analysis, based on the time divisions of the analysis of The New Era, covered the three decades: the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's, to render comparisons between the two easier. However, The Forum was not published until 1923 so that the Twenties covered only seven years.

The classification of articles derived from a survey of two issues in each decade. The articles were again divided into Perspectives and Applications. The five perspectives consisted of Scientific psychology, emphasising a rigorous experimental, Statistical approach; New Psychology with an ideational base orientated towards a fuller comprehension of the individual, New Education, using the same criteria as for The Journal of Education; Psychoanalysis and Philosophy. The nine Applications were: I.Q; General educational issues; Educational administration; Curriculum; World education; Problem child; Teacher; Physical welfare and, finally, the War (in the last two periods). Owing to the relatively small number of categories, it was possible to incorporate all the permutations of Perspectives and Applications in one table for each period (Tables 2, 3 and 4 in Appendix 8).

The results revealed that in the 1920's (Table 2 Appendix 8)), The Forum opted more for the applied than theoretical approach with a preponderance of Application articles. In the establishment of New Education, a more theoretical bias had

been evident in The New Era. By contrast, the science of education proposed in The Forum was more particularistic. It emphasised a quantitative science with an experimental rather than theoretical base. However, there was a shift in the Thirties and Forties, towards a more theoretical approach in The British Journal of Educational Psychology.

In the Twenties, the major informing perspective was Scientific psychology constituting 60% of the perspective total. Within this perspective, 30% of the articles were single perspective (SP) involving some discussion of its underlying principles. Among the remainder, the conjunction with I.Q. accounted for a further 25% and curriculum another 25%. New Education proved the other main perspective for that period constituting 28% of the perspectives total. More than half of these articles were SP implying that The Forum genuinely offered a platform for the delivery of the pedagogic message of New Education.

The attention given to New Education in the Twenties, was never repeated. The promotion of New Education in this period may have been a consequence of the NEF influence on the editorial board, providing one occasion where an obvious relationship emerged between the editorial board and the content of the journal. There was little interest in New Psychology but even in The New Era it had not been influential, except in conjunction with New Education, until the 1930's. No articles appeared on Psychoanalysis, implying that it played no part in the objective to establish education as a science.

The Twenties proved interesting in the range of applications it covered, which was more extensive than either of the other periods. Most of the applications, were either single applications (SA), referring to a single topic only, or in conjunction with a perspective (PA). Curriculum was the major application, demonstrating the consistency of interest in curriculum innovation across the educational field. It was

taken up by all three journals in different ways. The second application was I.Q., which became invested with far greater importance subsequently. General educational issues and World education also received some attention in this period. The coverage of World education was negligible in the later decades and again it was conceivably the initial NEF influence on the editorial board which accounted for its inclusion.

With the advent of The British Journal of Educational Psychology, a clearer pattern of Perspectives and Applications developed (Tables 3 and 4, Appendix 8) with a shift to a more dominant theoretical bias. In contrast to the Twenties' total of 46% Perspectives articles, the Thirties' total issues was 59%, with 56% in the Forties. A much stronger Scientific psychological Perspective informed the journal's approach, especially in the Thirties, when it constituted 72% of the perspective total. This contrasted with 60% in the first and 65% in the last decade. The increased attention to Perspectives reinforced through the Scientific psychology category, the strong scientific-based psychology with a dominant behaviourist input, that increasingly characterised the journal.

In both the Thirties and Forties, New Psychology was the second perspective accounting for 13% and 20% respectively. In comparison with Scientific psychology, the presence of New Psychology was entirely at odds with the journal's ethos but in no way appeared to threaten its dominance. The contribution of New Education, Psychoanalysis and Philosophy was minimal in the last two periods. Of all the facets of New Education, it was only New Psychology that had any enduring place in the journal through its concentration on child development.

The major application was overwhelmingly I.Q. in the later two periods. It accounted for 58% of the applied perspectives (PA's) and 37% of the dominant applications (DA's) in the Thirties and 40% PA's and 42% DA's in the Forties. This application was fundamentally connected with selection

procedures and the stratification of pupils within and between schools. A strong relationship emerged between I.Q. research, linked to concepts of the individual learner, and government policy initiatives to develop principles of stratification within and between schools.

In this application, the fundamental opposition of objectives and interests between The British Journal of Educational Psychology and The New Era could not have been more clearly manifested. New Education was utterly opposed to the stratification and selection of pupils on the basis of I.Q. promoting instead individual freedom and the development of affective aspects of personality.

The massive concentration on I.Q. implied a narrow range of Applications. In the Thirties, only two other dominant applications had more than 10 articles. They were Curriculum and Teacher. In the Forties, it was Curriculum and the War. The least popular dominant applications were consistently Physical welfare, which held constant for all three journals, Educational administration, and Problem child. The War featured in the Forties only, when it accounted for 16% of the application total.

3.4 Differences Between The Forum, The British Journal of Educational Psychology and The New Era

The initial promise of a close convergence between the two journals proved misleading. It was based on firstly, an apparent similarity of objectives and secondly, the NEF presence on the editorial board. The Forum and The British Journal of Educational Psychology were intended for a narrow, specialised essentially university-based audience of educational psychologists. The latter represented the journal of their profession. Its primary objective was to provide a base for the science of education, operating with a hard definition of science in contrast to The New Era's soft concept of science. In spite of some New Education articles

featuring in The Forum and an overlap of membership, it transpired that there was a basic antipathy between the two journals. They operated in different fields within education with different ideologies and objectives.

The Forum and The British Journal of Educational Psychology had a narrow focus to establish a science of education. The editorial board, representing widely divergent specialisms, rarely seemed to exercise any influence over the content and practice of the journal. Their function was essentially to establish credentials for the journals which, in view of their project, could hardly be justified. It was surprising that the NEF members retained their membership of the editorial board especially in view of the latter journal's major application to I.Q.

The British Journal of Educational Psychologyestablished I.Q. as a priority. It was devised as an "objective and valid" selection procedure and promoted education as primarily cognitive learning. In this, it provided the government with a method for selection and stratification within and between schools. The New Era's conception of education was dynamic and fluid promoting affective changes in opposition to a cognitive-based traditional education. The New Era demonstrated its primary concern to change the child's familial and educational interactions to provide the necessary freedom for individual personality development.

4. Conclusion

The analysis of the two contemporaneous journals confirmed the initial hypothesis of this chapter that The New Era was unique as the pedagogic relay of New Education. The comparison between The New Era and the other journals highlighted both its specificity and the limitations of its project.

It was only in the analysis of The Forum in the 1920's that the uniqueness of The New Era was in doubt. The Forum

had a number of NEF members serving on the editorial board and articles on New Education appeared in the journal. The Forum also shared a number of objectives in common with The New Era. Both wished to establish education as a science and both were anxious to provide a medium for the exchange of ideas and a community of interests among sympathetic intellectuals. It seemed as if The Forum genuinely offered a platform for the delivery of New Education's pedagogic message.

However, the initial coincidence of objectives,articles and personnel was superficial. The Forum was motivated by different interests which established its distance from The New Era and New Education. Unlike The New Era, The Forum was not exclusively devoted to New Education and this interest was anyway short-lived. The major aim of The Forum was to establish an objective science of education based on the experimental method. This was a narrow definition of science which clashed with The New Era's interpretation of a science of education.

The ambition of The New Era to establish a science of education meant that it should be informed by diverse theoretical perspectives deriving from such disciplines as New Education, New Psychology, Psychoanalysis, Philosophy and Religion. The initial interest in creating a science of New Education was not subsequently pursued in The New Era whereas it remained an informing perspective of The Forum and its successor The British Journal of Educational Psychology. The latter journals were strictly circumscribed by academicism and a primary concern to establish education as a science. The detailed analysis of The Forum did not confirm the initial impression that it served as a pedagogic relay of New Education in spite of a passing interest in the discipline in the 1920's. Thus the hypothesis of this chapter has been substantiated through the comparison with The Forum.

The comparison between the three journals revealed that each represented a separate field in education. The Journal

represented the field of practitioners, The New Era promoted New Education and The British Journal of Educational Psychology operated within the field of educational Psychology. The Journal of Education and School World was path-breaking in its promotion of a progressive politics of education. It was concerned at an institutional level, to make changes in educational practice and in the teaching profession. The teacher held the key to a better education. The Journal was unusual in its support for both the professionalisation of teaching and for endorsing teacher union struggles to secure decent policy and conditions of service. In this respect, its appeal was narrowly to teachers in the identification of their concern with decent pay and professional status on the one hand, and a more efficient education system on the other. It was a journal by and for practitioners, whereas The New Era attempted a balance between the theory and practice of New Education.

The New Era was perhaps the most ambitious of the three journals in the changes it proposed. It was instrumental in the constitution of the field of New Education drawing on different institutions, diverse perspectives and specialist interests. The New Era attempted to change consciousness through its child-centred pedagogy. It challenged traditional relationships between parents, teachers and children. The magazine addressed both the intellectual field of education and its practitioners.

The comparison between The New Era and the other journals reveals some of its limitations. The Journal was more pragmatic and realistic in its aims and attempted to improve the pay and professional identity of teachers through practical reforms. The Journal therefore had a potentially wider application and appeal than The New Era which confined its attention to teachers' personalities and ignored their conditions of work. The New Era's progressivism was not underpinned by a radical politics. Its major application in the inter-war period was to the private sector and the middle

class.

Some New Education ideas have been subsequently re-contextualised and inform post-war progressivism in the state education system. However, many contemporary progressive practices have lost sight of their origins. In contrast, The British Journal of Educational Psychology launched I.Q. as a major selection mechanism that has had an enduring influence upon state education policy. The reasons why Educational psychology has become the dominant Perspective informing state education policy should be the subject for future research.

CHAPTER 9

SOCIAL CLASS ORIGINS OF NEW EDUCATION

1. Introduction

This chapter aims to establish the social class identity of the New Education Movement and its discourse. It is divided into four sections. The first reviews the class assumptions underpinning the New Education Movement and its discourse. This review of the research evidence provides the context for the analysis of theories of the New Middle Class (NMC) in the second section. The inclusion of theories of the NMC is determined by their potential relevance in explaining the origins and identity of the new educators.

None of the major class theories provide an adequate formulation of the relationship between the NMC and education. The third section examines Bernstein's analysis of the NMC which argues the significance of education in the formation and reproduction of the consciousness of the NMC. His model identifies the NMC and its occupational functions to show its connection with the field of symbolic control and its relation to progressive education. In this country, Bernstein's theory represents a major theoretical attempt to link the development of the NMC with progressivism (1). This theory of the origins and identity of the NMC and its "invisible pedagogy" is tested against the empirical data.

The fourth section evaluates an alternative theory of the social class origins of progressivism. It is formulated by Musgrove (1979) in order to disprove Bernstein's linkage of the NMC with "invisible pedagogy". This section draws upon a range of research evidence to assess the conflicting arguments. Musgrove's theory supplies the test case against which the hypothesis that New Education was created by and for the NMC will be tested.

2. The Class Assumptions Underpinning the New Education Fellowship and its Discourse

2.1 Class Identity of Members of the New Education Fellowship (NEF)

The analysis of the Fellowship presented in Chapter 2, revealed two important indicators of the class identity. They are the composition of the committee and the wider membership. The committee lists consisted of predominantly male university lecturers, teachers and educational administrators. This shows the narrow occupational base and the gender imbalance of the Executive. Throughout the period, 1920-1950, women were consistently under represented on the Executive although they formed the majority of the administrative and editorial staff.

Without reliable data it has proved difficult to establish a full social enumeration of the wider membership. Initially, a major aim of the NEF was to create an international association of teachers and educational pioneers. In the Thirties, there was a wider appeal to enlist the support of all those interested in children's welfare. In particular, it targeted parents and social workers, although it is unclear whether this appeal was successful.

2.2 Readership of The New Era

Chapter 3 provided information about the readership, which was composed of academics from universities and teacher training colleges and their students, teachers and parents. The advertisements provide important evidence of the existence of teacher and parent readers in targeting them. The advertisements contained a directory of private New Education schools throughout the thirty year period. This directory targeted those parents who could afford the school fees which suggests that the parent readership were located in the middle classes. Teacher readers were targeted in a range of advertisements for appointments, courses, books and other educational services.

2.3 Authors

The author analysis in chapter 5 gives the most accurate picture of those involved in the construction of New Education discourse. The authors represented a microcosm of the wider membership or at least a specialised sample of them. The social class composition of the authors demonstrates its uniformity. The dominant categories consisted of teachers, university lecturers, teacher-training tutors, psychologists, psychiatric workers and educational administrators. They represented the rising class of professionals in this period whose sphere of influence was not normally confined to education.

An important function of the author analysis was to identify those with little or no involvement in the production of New Education discourse. Although medical experts, social workers and parents were included in the initial classification of authors, their involvement was minimal. The occupations that were absent in the New Education movement were those involved in the sphere of production ie. from industry, commerce or financial institutions. In addition, the traditional professions of law, medicine, the church and politics played no part in the field of New Education.

Thus, the New Education movement was representative of a specialised section of professional, middle class occupations. Its members were employed in the central or local state and worked in diverse institutional settings: schools, local authorities, teacher training or university departments and clinics. Their work is concerned with changing individuals and pedagogic practices in the home and school. Though the inter-relatedness of their occupational functions, these specialists were centrally placed for the effective transmission of New Education discourse.

2.4 New Education Discourse

In spite of its claims for universality, New Education

generated new pedagogic principles of child socialisation that were class-based. Working class parents could not afford to send their children to progressive boarding schools and New Education was expensive in terms of teacher time and resources. The educative environment presumed the space and time for the acquisition of cognitive competencies at the child's leisure. Moreover, the success of new pedagogic principles of child socialisation depended upon a constant maternal presence.

New Education discourse was established in opposition to the traditional middle class and created a new class ideology and identity within education. It was based upon a complex synthesis of class, gender, internationalist and originally religious themes. The next section examines theories of the middle class to provide a theoretical framework to explain the social class origins and identity of the NEF and its discourse.

3. Theories of the New Middle Class (NMC): A Theoretical Framework for the Analysis of the Social Origins and Identity of the New Education Movement

3.1 Introduction

The starting point of this section is the empirical specification of the class location of the New Education movement. It was described in the previous section as consisting of members of the professional middle class. The intention is to review briefly, a range of theories of the middle class which might provide an explanation of the origins and identity of the NMC and the location of the professions within it. The inclusion of these theories of the middle class is determined by their relevance to this thesis.

This section is divided into three further sub-sections. The first examines some preliminary problems in the application of abstract conceptual models of class to specific empirical data. These include problems of definition, the timing and objectives of contemporary theories vis-a-vis the New Education movement and the criteria used as indicators of class position.

The second and third sections examine different approaches to the origins and identity of the professions within the NMC and reveal the limitations of these theories in terms of their inability to theorise the relationship between the NMC and progressive education. The sociological literature is preoccupied with developments in class structuration under conditions of advanced capitalist society. It has a limited application to the emergence of the professional middle class involved in New Education in the period 1920-1950.

3.2. Preliminary Problems of Definition, Timing and Classification of the Middle Class and the NMC

Class represents a fundamental category describing capitalist societies but, class analysis is largely determined by the informing perspective for example Marxist, Neo-Marxist, Weberian or other. From the range of approaches to the middle class, it is evident that there is some conceptual confusion over its definition, interests and boundaries. For example, Bechhoffer, Elliott and McCrane (1978) comment that the concept of middle class is both "sloppy and imprecise". It has been debased sociologically (Bechhoffer et al 1978:411).

In spite of different perspectives on the middle class, it is possible to formulate an overarching definition with which most social theorists would concur, it identifies the middle class as "non-manual workers" (Bechhoffer et al:411). However, this definition is too broad to be useful. It fails to differentiate between the bourgeoisie and the middle class, or between fractions within the middle class.

The studies reviewed here stem from the 1970's onwards when class analysis became a renewed interest. These theories have been formulated in the context of advanced capitalist social formations, mainly in response to changes in the occupational structure and the growth of the non-manual sector, which have created a more heterogeneous middle class. Moreover, the theories are informed by contemporary debates

about the identity, commonalities and cleavages in middle class structuration which are hardly pertinent to the analysis of the origins and identity of the professions within the NMC in the period 1920-1950. Some caution is necessary therefore, in the application of these theories to the empirical data when the NMC was still in the early stages of formation.

Most explanatory models of class prove difficult to apply to empirical data (2). One of the problems that Holland (1985) experienced in her operationalisation of theories of the middle class was the allocation of agents to class positions on the basis of criteria suggested by more abstract theoretical models (Holland 1985:94). However, Holland argues that in spite of different perspectives and definitions of the middle class, its content and boundaries, the main indicator of class position is occupation. She distinguishes between Marxist perspectives, where occupation indicates the relation to the productive process or location within the social division of labour and stratification theories where occupation is the crucial dimension which intersects with other non-economic indicators to allocate agents to strata (ibid:82).

Holland claims that stratification models provide "descriptive categories essentially related to status" which result in a "prestige ranking" of occupations (ibid:81). Goldthorpe's typology of the middle class is one example of a description of the sections of the middle class which locates the professions within the established, new middle class, it is reproduced below:

3.2.1. Components of the Middle Class - Goldthorpe) (1978)

(Goldthorpe 1978:437)

	OLD	NEW
Established	Large proprietors independent professionals	Salaried professionals administrators and officials managers, high grade technicians
Marginal	Small proprietors, self employed artisans and other own account workers	Routine non-manual employees, lower-grade technicians.

Goldthorpe's typology distinguishes between the old/new middle class and the established/marginal middle class to explain recruitment patterns of inter- and intra-generational mobility and to predict contemporary political consciousness among the sections of the middle class (ibid:638). However, the model is essentially descriptive rather than explanatory. It describes the components of the contemporary middle class but does not explain its origins and identity.

In the construction of a typology of theories of the origins and identity of the NMC, a class model will be formulated rather than a stratification model. Holland differentiates between them in the following way:

> "the concept and category 'class' should be preserved for the analysis of the dynamics of social change and its roots in social structure, whereas 'stratum' should be used as a category for describing hierarchical systems at particular historical moments." (Holland op. cit: 80)

A class model is based on conflict (potential or actual) between classes and analyses the relationship between them in terms of the dynamics of social change. In the next sub-section, the typology of theories of the middle class will explore their potential relevance in explaining the origins and identity of the NMC and the location of professionals within it. This typology can be found in Appendix 9 and will be referred to in the following sections.

3. Origins of the New Middle Class (NMC)

In general, contemporary theories of the middle class are scarcely interested in its origins. Instead they focus upon issues of class awareness and interests. With the exception of Giddens, the theories only refer to the stage of capitalist development with which they associate the emergence of the middle class. The typology of theories in Appendix 9, reveals a division of opinion about the origins of the NMC. Giddens, Wright and Parkin identify its emergence at the monopoly stage of capitalism. Gould links its emergence with the development of the Welfare State at a more advanced stage of capitalism.

Most modern theories of social class take Marx's theory as their point of reference in spite of the fact that Marx had no developed theory of the middle class. Indeed, his position was contradictory. Marx defined it either as a transitional class and therefore in decline, or as a segment of the dominant class that was increasing (3). Giddens supports this apparently contradictory theory on the grounds that capitalist society witnessed both the diminution of the proportional significance of the petty bourgeoisie and the growth in the white collar sector. Giddens therefore distinguishes between the petty bourgeoisie and the NMC, defined as "propertyless non-manual or white collar workers" (Giddens 1973:177). Regrettably, he drops the concept of NMC to refer to a generic middle class. Although he still distinguishes between the petty bourgeoisie and the rest of the middle class, the generic concept is liable to conflate them.

Giddens's analysis of the growth of the (new) middle class indicates "the massive relative enlargement of the white collar sector" since the turn of the century. He estimates that in 1921, 22% of the population were in non-manual occupations, rising to 28% by 1951 (ibid:171). This growth occurred in predominantly clerical and sales occupations. It was not until later (1950-1970) that there was a concomitant increase in professional and technical labour (ibid:179). Some theories of the NMC equate its emergence with the growth of both public and private bureaucracies at this later stage for example, Gould. However, his theory does not contribute to an understanding of the class origins of the professionals within the New Education Movement.

From this typology, Giddens provides the most relevant assessment of the origins of the NMC in the early Twentieth Century. The New Education professions must have been part of the relative enlargement of non-manual occupations in the period 1920-1950. They represented members of the NMC in its earliest stages of formation.

3.4 The Identity of the NMC

The typology in Appendix 9 reveals that from a range of perspectives, using different models of class, and different nomenclature (4) there is a consensus about its content. Although it is classified as non-manual, it is distinct from the bourgeoisie/upper class. In the separation of ownership and control of capital, top managers are identified by the theorists as belonging to the bourgeoisie whereas middle managers belong to the NMC. This distinction marks one boundary between the bourgeoisie and the NMC. There is a further distinction between the petty bourgeoisie (small property owners) and the NMC. In the most general formulation of the NMC, it includes propertyless, non-manual white collar workers. This includes professionals (Parkin includes only lower-level professionals within the middle class), technical staff, supervisors, clerical and sales occupations.

In general, the theories pay little attention to the position of professions within the NMC. Giddens explains this neglect because "professionalisation does not offer major difficulties for class theory" (Giddens 1973:186). Gould's analysis of the salaried middle class (SMC) is an interesting exception. His main concern is to identify the SMC as an independent class with independent interests as both producers and consumers of welfare bureaucracies. He claims that what unifies the diverse elements of the SMC is advancement within career hierarchies (5). They share much in common:

> "it is through their possession of cultural capital, their inter-locking positions of authority and expertise in the state ... their shared values - that members of the SMC are able to advance their class interests."
> (Gould 1981:414)

The significance that Gould attaches to the SMC under corporatism far exceeds the small group of professions that comprised the New Education Movement in the 1920's. Nevertheless, he identifies the ability of this class to promote their own interests effectively through interlocking

positions of authority and expertise. This might explain how the New Education Fellowship, a voluntary organisation with members in a range of positions across the educational field, could effectively promote New Education pedagogic practices and influence the development of the state education system. Unfortunately, Gould confines his analysis to the commonalities of the SMC and does not consider how the advancement of its interests might affect educational practices. He fails to connect this class with progressivism in education.

3.5 Conclusion

The theories reviewed here serve a limited function in providing a framework for the identification of the origins and constituents of the NMC. Its origins can be traced back to the monopoly stage of capitalism. Its emergence as a fully-fledged class coincided with the later massive relative expansion of the professions through the growth of public and private bureaucracies. The components of the NMC are non-manual, white collar workers consisting of professions, middle management, technicians, supervisors, clerical and sales staff.

Insofar as the theories have little to say about the origins and location of the professions within the NMC, they are disappointing (6). Their main preoccupation is with the occupational distribution of the NMC and its mediate and proximate structuration. They neglect the relationship between the NMC and education confining their observations about education to the recognition of the possession of cultural capital as the main determinant of middle class market capacity. Gouldner's theory of the New Class offers a different and potentially useful way of theorising the New Education movement, and his theory will be briefly considered here.

Gouldner (1979) identifies intellectuals and the technical intelligentsia as a New Class arising in the Third World developing Nations, the second world of USSR and the first

world of late capitalism in North America, Western Europe and Japan (Gouldner 1979:1). He defines the New Class as a "Flawed Universal Class" in the sense that it is "elitist and self-seeking and uses its special knowledge to advance its own interests and power and to control its own work situation" (ibid:7). The origins of this New Class are sketched across centuries of Western European history tracing its gradual emergence into the public sphere (ibid:1). However, Gouldner claims that the New Class did not take off in America until 1900-1930. His evidence is based on the Ehrenreich's analysis of the Professional Managerial Class. Further, he claims that this New Class made no significant impact until the involvement of intellectuals in socialist and progressive movements.

The main characteristics of the New Class are the following. It originates in the old class, consisting of the educated counterparts of moneyed capital, or is sponsored by them. The position of the New Class must be understood as oppositional to the old class and the system that produced them. The New Class reproduces itself and is integrated through cultural capital and its culture. In this respect Gouldner draws upon Bernstein's theory of cultural reproduction. Gouldner describes this class as a "speech community" with a culture of "Careful and Critical Discourse" (ibid:27). He claims that "the New Class becomes the guild masters of an invisible pedagogy" (ibid:29). The New Class offers emancipatory potential as a progressive force but is hampered by its theoreticity. The emancipatory interest of this class is impeded by its elitism:

> "The new discourse (CCD) is the grounding for a critique of established forms of domination and provides an escape from tradition, but it also bears the seeds of a new domination .... The culture of discourse of the New Class seeks to control everything ... believing that such domination is the only road to truth." (ibid:85)

Gouldner's theory of the New Class is interesting and could be seen as potentially relevant as an explanatory framework for the analysis of the New Education Fellowship. The Fellowship was just such a community of intellectuals with

an emancipatory discourse. However, Gouldner's concept of the New Class incorporates both intellectuals and the intelligentsia whereas the NEF could be described only as intellectuals. His theory offers no means of differentiating between the two groups and has been rejected for the analysis of the NEF. The next sub-section examines Bernstein's (1977) theory of the NMC which identifies the importance of education for the reproduction of this fraction and theorises the relationship between class and pedagogies.

4. Bernstein's Theory of Symbolic Control Identification of the New Middle Class

4.1 Introduction

Bernstein (1977) develops an abstract conceptual model of cultural reproduction in the context of advanced capitalist society. He shares with Marxist approaches an emphasis upon production and with class and stratification approaches, the use of occupation as the main indicator of class position (Holland 1985:96). In fact, Bernstein's theory fulfils Giddens' criteria for theories of class structuration. It is based upon the relations of production (mediate structuration) and the social division of labour (proximate structuration). Where Bernstein differs from previous approaches is in the significance he attaches to education in the structuration of the NMC (8). He argues that the relationship between education and production is crucial for "the formation and reproduction of the consciousness of that fraction of the middle class who function as agents of cultural reproduction" (Bernstein 1977:192).

4.2 Origins of the NMC

Bernstein's analysis of the NMC is outlined in a chapter on "Class and Pedagogies: Visible and Invisible", where it is formulated in contrast to the old middle class (OMC). Both arose out of the increasing complexity of the division of labour (9). The OMC emerged in response to the increased

complexity of the economic division of labour. The NMC developed out of an increase in the complexity of the division of labour of cultural or symbolic control.

Whereas the OMC was a nineteenth century formation relating to the 'entrepreneurial' or monopoly stage of capitalism the NMC was a mid-late twentieth century formation relating to corporate capitalism. Bernstein explains the origins of the NMC in the following terms:

> "a middle/late twentieth century formation, arising out of the scientific organisation of work and corporate capitalism. The new middle class is both a product and a sponsor of the related expansion of education and fields of symbolic control." (ibid:127)

This explanation of the origins of the NMC coincides with Gould's timing of the origins of the salaried middle class. Both are too late to apply to the emergence of the New Education Movement although both are concerned with the same group of professions as the New Educators. However, Bernstein traces the antecedents of NMC educational ideologies to their institutionalisation in private pre-schools and secondary schools (ibid:124). Although he offers no dates, they were contemporary with New Education. He identifies the educational ideologies as class ideologies i.e. as the ideology of the NMC which presumes the existence of the NMC in this earlier period. Similarly, at the level of childhood socialisation within the family, Bernstein points to the role of women as "crucial agents in the last quarter (and perhaps even before) of the nineteenth century" (ibid:132). They played an important part in "initiating, shaping and disseminating invisible pedagogies" (ibid:131).

In spite of the fact that Bernstein is mainly concerned with the emergence of the NMC as a middle-late twentieth century formation, he is aware that it pre-dates this in embryonic form as far back as the middle/late nineteenth century. It seems as if Bernstein's analysis can therefore

explain the origins of the New Education professions as located in the embryonic stages of formation of the NMC.

4.3 Identity of the NMC

The characteristics of the NMC contrast with those of the OMC in every respect. The major shifts from the OMC to the NMC are summarised below.

The Major Shifts from the OMC to the NMC

Shift	OMC	NMC
Origins	Entrepreneurial capitalism in the 19th century. Arising out of the increased complexity of the economic division of labour.	Corporate capitalism in the middle/late 20th C. Arising out of the increased complexity of the division of labour of symbolic control.
Occupational Function	Located mainly in the field of production serving an entrepreneurial function through the ownership/control of physical resources. Also includes the traditional professions e.g. law and medicine which served a professional function but remain associated to OMC.	Located mainly in the field of symbolic control serving a professional function. Agents are employed in education and related agencies of cultural reproduction. The agents of symbolic control can also be located in the field of production.
Ideology	Radical individualism, ie. "a form of integration referred to as individualised organic solidarity"(ibid:127) It unites the entrepreneurial and professional functions of the OMC and presupposes explicit and unambiguous values. It relies upon a form of socialisation which produces specific unambiguous role identities and relatively inflexible role performances. This ideology is expressed through visible pedagogies in education.	Based on a form of integration referred to as personalised organic solidarity. The ambiguous location of the NMC in the class structure is reflected in the ambiguity of its values and purpose. It relies upon a form of socialisation which leads to ambiguous personal identity and flexible role performances. This ideology is expressed through invisible pedagogies in education.

Reproduction	The OMC enjoys a relatively direct relationship to production and a relatively indirect relationship to education. It reproduces itself essentially through capital and physical property. "Under individualised organic solidarity, property has an essentially physical nature" (ibid:126).	The NMC has a relatively indirect relationship to production and a relatively direct relationship to education. Under personalised organic solidarity, property "has been partly psychologised and appears in the form of ownership of valued skills made available in educational institutions. (ibid:126) The NMC reproduces itself through pedagogic capital.
Modality of social control	Explicit. Expressed through the dominating power of production.	Implicit. Expressed through dominating control (cultural reproduction).

The above summary incorporates the distinctive features of the NMC. It has a relatively direct relationship to the means and forms of cultural reproduction and reproduces itself through education. The reliance upon "pedagogic capital" (10) unites the agents of symbolic control who work in either the field of production or symbolic control. However it is only those agents of symbolic control who work in the field of symbolic control that concern this thesis.

Bernstein's analysis of the NMC is formulated in the context of advanced capitalist society as "both a product and a sponsor of the related expansion of education and fields of symbolic control" (ibid:127). This represents his clearest distinction between the NMC and symbolic control. The NMC has its origins in the personalised forms of organic solidarity that arose out of the differentiation between the economic and socio-cultural division of labour expressed in the field of symbolic control. It is significant that Bernstein refers to the NMC only in the class and pedagogies chapter. Elsewhere, he employs the distinction between agents of production and

agents of symbolic control.

4.4. Bernstein Theory of the NMC and Invisible Pedagogy

The NMC reproduces itself through education. The relationship between class and pedagogy was first formulated by Bernstein in an attempt to integrate general problems of control and its specific class-related forms (Bernstein 1977:14/16). Visible and Invisible pedagogies represent the forms of educational transmission of the OMC and NMC respectively. An initial definition is supplied in terms of the classification and framing. Visible pedagogies are realised through strong classification and framing. Conversely, Invisible pedagogies are realised through weak classification and framing (11).

The crucial features of invisible pedagogy are the following:

"1) The invisible pedagogy is an interrupter system both in relation to the family and in its relation to other levels in the educational hierarchy.
2) It transforms the privatised social structures and cultural contexts of visible pedagogies into personalised cultural contexts.
3) Implicit nurture reveals unique nature."
(Bernstein 1977:124)

In contrast to the visible pedagogy with its origins in the public and grammar schools, Bernstein posits the origins of invisible pedagogies in the private sector for the NMC. He claims that:

> "the ideology of the new middle class was first institutionalised in private pre-schools, then private/public secondary schools and finally into the state system at the level of the infant school." (ibid:124)

Bernstein provides an essentially speculative formulation

of the relationship between class and pedagogy. His theory offers a conceptual model in which he claims that invisible pedagogy was first institutionalised by and for the new middle class. It is conceivable that the analysis of the New Education movement presented in this thesis provides an empirical verification of Bernstein's theory. There is an affinity between the intellectual field of the New Education Movement and the new middle class agents of symbolic control (between New Education and invisible pedagogy) which bears further examination.

5.1 Applications of Bernstein's Theory of the NMC and Invisible Pedagogy to Explain the Origins and Identity of the New Education Movement and its Discourse

This section tests the compatibility of Bernstein's conceptual model of the NMC and invisible pedagogy with the empirical data in this thesis about New Education, its social class origins and discourse. There is no expectation of a direct transposition of Bernstein's theory onto the empirical evidence because of differences in timing and objectives. Rather, their points of convergence and divergence will be assessed.

5.2 The Occupational Identity of the New Education Fellowship

The author analysis in chapter 5 identified the professions involved in the creation of New Education. They were mainly related to education including teachers, university lecturers, teacher-training college tutors and educational administrators. The most significant among the related professions were academic psychologists, psychiatrists and psychoanalysts. It is proposed to map these professions onto Bernstein's classification of agents of symbolic control.

Bernstein's classification consists of the following categories (Bernstein 1977:128):

1) Regulators : members of the legal system, police and church.
2) Repairers : medical, psychiatric and social services.
3) Diffusers : Mass and specialised media.
4) Shapers : creators of symbolic forms in arts or sciences.
5) Executors : civil service and bureaucrats.
6) Reproducers : Teachers.

The classification of NEF authors can now be re-grouped under Bernstein's categories as follows:

1) Repairers : psychiatric workers and to a lesser extent medical and social services, although their involvement was minimal.
2) Diffusers : culturalists.
3) Shapers : university lecturers, teacher training tutors, psychologists and psychiatric specialists.
4) Executors : educational administrators.
5) Reproducers : teachers at all levels.

Most of the occupational functions that Bernstein identifies were also present in the New Education Movement. The main category involved in the construction of New Education was shapers, supported by reproducers, executors, repairers and diffusers. The New Education professions represent a specialised group of agents in the field of symbolic control. However, there were also differences between the two models in the classification of occupational function within the field of symbolic control that prevented a direct transposition of authors onto Bernstein's model.

The most notable difference is the absence of regulators in the classification of New Education. This lack of fit is to be expected because the shift to New Education implied a shift in the modalities of social control. It was therefore opposed to the traditional agencies of regulation such as official religious agencies. Their representatives were unlikely to be involved in a movement that aimed to undermine their authority.

The classification of occupational functions in the New Education movement is more diffuse than Bernstein's, with some professions performing more than one function (12). Bernstein's classification of teachers at all levels as reproducers is too general. Within New Education, teachers at all levels certainly reproduced its ideas. However, teachers in schools generally have much less scope and influence over educational policy and pedagogic principles than university lecturers or teacher-training tutors. The university lecturers and teacher-training tutors also performed the role of shapers of New Education and were therefore classified under both categories. Similarly, the category of repairers does not adequately describe the role of the psychiatric services who were equally involved as shapers of New Education discourse.

The differences between Bernstein's model and the New Education Fellowship can be explained in terms of timing. New Education was formulated in the period 1920-1950 whereas Bernstein's model pertains to a more advanced and specialised state education apparatus in the mid 1970's. Bernstein's model is not historically specific and in the absence of a developed state education apparatus, the inter-war classification of functions was more diffuse. Indeed, the author analysis concludes that the agents involved in the creation of New Education may have represented the only hegemony in the field of education at the time.

5.3 The Gender Identity of New Educators

Bernstein's model of cultural reproduction claims that women played an active part in "initiating shaping and disseminating invisible pedagogies" (Bernstein 1977:131). He cites examples of women such as Montessori, Anna Freud, Melanie Klein, Susan Isaacs, Dolly Gardner and Molly Brierley who facilitated the transformation of the maternal role into a scientific activity (ibid:132).

The author analysis confirms that women played some part in the construction of New Education. The analysis reveals that the contribution of women authors did not rise above 35% in any period between 1920 and 1950. In addition, the majority of women authors were teachers. They were significant as reproducers of the discourse but had less influence in shaping New Education. The author analysis concludes that women were active participants in the creation of New Education but that ultimately male dominance prevailed. Therefore it would appear that Bernstein overstates their contribution.

However, Bernstein is correct in his identification of mothers as important agents of cultural reproduction. The invisible pedagogy interrupts familial relations to introduce new modalities of social control in the home. His theory of invisible pedagogy is endorsed by the analysis of New Education discourse in chapter 6. New Education required a similar transformation of the home. It proposed the professionalisation of motherhood with the result that it trapped the mother more profoundly in the home and in a position of economic dependence.

Whereas men were mostly responsible for the creation of New Education, women, especially mothers were expected to put the principles into effect. Thus New Education reinforced the socio-sexual division of labour within the field of symbolic control.

5.4 New Education as an Invisible Pedagogy

New Education conforms to Bernstein's concept of invisible pedagogy in each of the three crucial features. Like invisible pedagogies, New Education was an interrupter system both at the level of the school and in its implications for familial relations. New Education, in common with every distinctive characteristic of the NMC, was profoundly oppositional. In particular, it was formulated in opposition to the ideology of the public schools, promoting instead pedagogic principles

based on freedom and love. New education encouraged an interruption of visible pedagogies and emphasised freedom to allow for the fullest expression of innate potentialities. It presumed that "implicit nurture reveals unique nature".

Invisible pedagogies are characterised by implicit hierarchy, implicit sequencing/pacing rules and implicit criteria. New Education was directly opposed to hierarchical relations between teachers and learners, requiring teachers to serve as facilitators of learning. It presupposed a long educational life in which children would learn what they wished at their own rate. Bernstein argues that invisible pedagogies are based upon weak classification and weak framing with important consequences for the modality of social control.

Under conditions of weak classification and framing:

> "the socialisation encourages more of the socialised to become visible, his uniqueness to be made manifest. Such socialisation is deeply penetrating, more total as the surveillance becomes more invisible. This is the basis of control which creates personalised organic solidarity." (ibid:126)

Similarly, New Education, in its intensive focus upon the 'whole child' embraced all aspects of the child's life at home and at school in the interests of facilitating normal development. In this respect, New Education implied both total surveillance and non-interference in its advocacy of normalised personal development.

5.5 Conclusion

Among the theories of the NMC reviewed in this chapter, Bernstein's is the only one that provides an adequate conceptual framework to explain the social class origins and identity of the New Education movement. In the application of Bernstein's model to the empirical data, there is no direct transposition of his theory onto the NEF and its discourse due to problems of divergent timing of the respective analyses.

Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence to confirm that the New Education Movement had its origins in the formative stage of the NMC. The professions associated with New Education can be located as a fraction within the field of symbolic control. Moreover, the ideology of New Education is the ideology of the NMC. New Education discourse is formulated in opposition to the visible pedagogies of the OMC, epitomised in the public schools. Such opposition to the OMC is a characteristic of NMC identity, providing further confirmation that New Education was created by and for the NMC.

6. Musgrove's Theory: A Test Case of the Origins of Progressive Schools and Invisible Pedagogy

6.1 Introduction

The conclusion reached in the previous section was that the social basis of the New Education movement could be found in a fraction of the new middle class, the caring professions and their academic supports. Here, the adequacy of this theoretical explanation will be tested against a critique advanced by Musgrove (1979). His analysis will be juxtaposed to Bernstein's theory to evaluate their competing claims as a means of clarifying the origins of New Education.

This section briefly outlines Musgrove's theory and the grounds for the controversy. It is evaluated with reference to Stewart's (1968) empirical study of progressive schools. Stewart provides the main source of information about the progressive schools and conducts the largest study of former pupils. In addition, Musgrove relies upon Stewart's data to support his argument. A short description of Stewart's sample and the problems that arise in interpreting his data precedes the analysis of the controversy.

6.2 Musgrove's Theory of Progressive Schools

Musgrove (1979) in School and the Social Order refutes Bernstein's theory of cultural reproduction and the origins of invisible pedagogy in the new middle class (NMC). Musgrove's

theoretical position is eclectic and derives from his diverse teaching experience. He is sceptical of class-based explanations of educational situations. He claims that progressive boarding schools facilitated the downward movement of elites. Adopting Pareto's theory of the circulation of elites, he asserts that:

> "People in superior social positions sometimes 'step down' or arrange for their sons and daughters to do so ... There is a circulation of elites ... Important sub-systems of modern educational services facilitate and regulate these downward movements. These sub-systems are the progressive boarding schools...."(Musgrove 1979:166)

The origins of these schools are traced back to the landed gentry who provided financial support in order to avoid payment of death duties. According to Musgrove, the schools represented the transmutation of gentry culture. He opposes Bernstein's theory of the origins of invisible pedagogy in the NMC. Instead he claims that it was supported by the old middle class (OMC), who were anxious to avoid reproducing themselves (ibid:172).

There are three main areas of dispute in the Bernstein-Musgrove controversy. The first concerns the role of the landed gentry in the origins of progressive boarding schools. The second is the function of these schools in the downward movement of elites. The third is the class origins of invisible pedagogy. Each one will be evaluated with reference to Stewart's data.

6.3.1 Description of Stewart's Sample

Stewart (1968) conducted his research in 1963-4 based on leavers in the years 1933-1958. A questionnaire was sent to a total of 1,535 former pupils of 16 progressive schools. The final results were based on 798 respondents from 14 schools, representing a return of 54%. The gender distribution of the sample was 52% female and 48% male. Almost half of the respondents left school in the 1950's.

The schools ranged from co-educational to single-sex, day to boarding, denominational to unattached. The 5 denominational schools belonged to the Society of Friends (quakers), who adopted many progressive principles. These schools yielded a higher response rate (62%) than the unattached schools (48%). Stewart presents his findings for the total sample and also provides a breakdown in terms of Friends' and Unattached schools.

6.3.2 Problems of Interpretation of Stewart's Data

Stewart allocates his sample to class positions using a dual classification of the Registrar-General's (1951) social class categories and Roe's (1958) model of occupational distribution. The Registrar-General's categories fall into 5 social class groups, of which group I is professional and group II consists of intermediate occupations. These two groups are the most relevant to Stewart's sample but his presentation of the data in percentage terms for each group is too general to assist the evaluation of the Bernstein-Musgrove controversy. Roe's model was devised for American society, but Stewart applies it to his data. She uses 8 occupational categories: service, business contact, organization, technology, outdoor, science, general culture and arts and entertainment. Stewart offers a few examples under each heading but does not give a numerical distribution of the respondents occupations.

Without the baseline data of the number of respondents in each occupation it is difficult to interpret Stewart's data. This is a particular problem in the attempt to transpose Roe's model into Bernstein's division of agents of production and agents of symbolic control. Bernstein proposes a conceptual model rather than a precise formulation of his categories. For the purpose of this study, the empirical specification of Bernstein's categories proposed by Holland (1985) has been applied to Stewart's distribution based on Roe's model (13). The categories of business contact, technology and outdoor are classified as agents of production and service, science,

general culture and arts and entertainment are classified as agents of symbolic control. The category of organisation (14) contains both functions and, in the absence of a more precise breakdown of this category, it is divided in half between production and symbolic control.

6.4 Analysis of the Bernstein-Musgrove Controversy

6.4.1 Role of the Landed Gentry

Musgrove argues that the landed gentry provided financial backing for the progressive boarding schools and that these schools represented the transmutation of gentry culture. The landed gentry invested in the schools to avoid payment of death duties:

> "Abbotsholme was founded in the year that Goschen first introduced death duties, Bedales in the year that Harcourt gave them teeth. For the past eighty years, since taxation really began to bite, very costly educational services have been provided not to help people to go 'up' but to enable them (with reasonable comfort) to go down." (Musgrove 1979:167)

According to Musgrove, progressive boarding schools have more in common with gentry culture than with industrial capitalism. They de-emphasize intellect, disapprove of competition, encourage closeness to nature through an outdoor life and do not measure success in life in terms of career outcomes. The independent progressive schools represent "the gentry culture with the blood sports left out" (ibid:172).

Historians of progressivism have not analysed the relationship between the landed gentry and progressive schools. It is perceptive of Musgrove to identify this affinity. The landed gentry did provide support for some of the early schools but they represented one of a number of sponsors of progressive schools. Stewart's history of such schools emphasises their diverse sources of support including religious foundations, educational trusts and private capital. For example, Mrs Elmhirst started Dartington with inherited

American capital and Mrs Douglas-Hamilton supported theosophical schools with an income derived from Wills tobacco company.

In the conflict of interests between the landed gentry and industrial capital, it is feasible that the former sent their children to progressive schools. They shared a mutual antipathy to the competitive ethos of industrial society and a mutual empathy with nature and an outdoor existence. However, Musgrove's argument does not fully explain the origins and ethos of progressive schools. There is no necessary connection between gentry culture and the emphasis of these schools on self-development, self-expression and creativity expressed through their child-centred pedagogy. In fact, the major formative influence upon progressive schools was their explicit opposition to the public school traditions.

There is a difference in the timing of Musgrove's and Bernstein's arguments which might explain the discrepancy in their accounts. Musgrove, perceiving the connection with the landed gentry, is mainly concerned with the period 1889-1940, in which the progressive schools were established. It would seem the landed gentry represented a class in decline and the schools contained residual traces of gentry culture. Bernstein identifies an emergent class formation in the middle to late twentieth century with its antecedents in the progressive schools. His theory can explain the pedagogic principles of New Education in the progressive schools as part of the process of identity construction for the NMC in the transition from individualised to personalised organic solidarity. The conjunction of the two arguments confirms Stewart's analysis of the diverse formative agencies and influences that shaped the New Education movement.

6.4.2 Progressive Schools and the Downward Movement of Elites

Musgrove claims that "elites go soft". Some fathers arrange for their children to step down rather than reproduce

their privileged position. Alternatively, the children make this choice themselves. There are two aspects of Musgrove's argument that require investigation. Firstly, whether elites did send their children to progressive schools. Secondly, if there is any evidence to support the idea that the schools assist in downward mobility.

Musgrove's theory of elites derives from two sources. He draws upon Pareto's theory of the circulation of elites and concept of 'decadence' to explain the downward movement of elites. It is the main theme in his analysis of progressive schools, that they assist in the downward movement of elites. He uses Giddens' definition of elites to identify the elite status of fathers of pupils at progressive schools. Giddens defines elites as "those individuals who occupy formally defined positions of authority at the head of a social organisation or institution" (Giddens in Musgrove 1979:170). Musgrove does not attempt to integrate the different definitions of elites, nor does he acknowledge the fact that Giddens' analysis of elites does not support the idea of their downward movement. Musgrove simply uses Giddens' basic definition to claim that the fathers are mainly elite members whereas the sons are not.

There is little evidence that fathers are elite members in Giddens sense. Musgrove offers one example of wealthy industrialists who supported Bedales schools in the early days (ibid:171). In Stewart's classification of his total sample of respondents, it is clear that the only categories which might contain elite members are business contact and organisation if they were also social class I on the Registrar General's classification. For the pupil sample, those enjoying elite status would consist of the proportion of 3.3% of the total sample. Unfortunately, Stewart does not cross-reference the Registrar-General's class groups with Roe's occupational distribution to achieve a similar approximation for fathers. Instead, 38% of fathers belong in social class I, 17% belong in the business category and 42% are classified as

organisation. It is not possible to infer from these statistics the proportion of fathers enjoying elite status. However, social class I membership does not automatically confer elite status, as it is mostly professional occupations (Census 1961 England and Wales Occupational Tables HMSO 1966). From Stewart's data there is no evidence to suggest that most fathers are elite members.

The lack of evidence of fathers belonging to elites undermines Musgrove's argument that the schools assist in the downward movement of elites. Nevertheless, Musgrove also claims that pupils at progressive schools are generally downwardly mobile. This assertion will be assessed. Musgrove is mainly concerned with intergenerational mobility between fathers and sons but Stewart's data about social class grouping refers to his total sample. He classifies 38% of fathers and 23.5% of pupils in social class I and 43% of fathers in social class II compared with 56.8% of pupils. Fewer pupils belong to social class I but this need not imply that the children are downwardly mobile. The fathers were well established in their careers whereas many of the pupils had only just started to work. The research took place in 1963-4 and the last group of leavers (one-quarter of the respondents), if they had taken a further course of study (84% of his overall sample did go on to higher education), would have been working for, at most, two years. (Stewart 1968:338). It is therefore early to predict the downward mobility of children.

Stewart does provide data for the male sample, giving the occupational distribution of fathers and sons using Roe's model. He further divides his findings in three groups, the total male sample, the Quaker sample and the unattached sample (ie non-denominational schools). This information is reproduced in Table 1 below. Table 1 will be used to assess Musgrove's claim that "whereas the fathers were typically men of power, they (the children) have turned to the caring professions and the arts" (Musgrove 1979:169).

Table 1: Percentage Distribution of Occupations of Fathers and Sons in the Total Male Sample Reproduced from Stewart's Analysis of Progressive Schools

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Service	Business Contact	Organ-ization	Tech-nology	Outdoor	Science	General Culture	Art & Entertainment
Fathers	10.5	1.7	42.0	16.0	4.7	8.7	10.2	6.1
Sons	12.8	1.6	21.5	22	6.8	13.6	14.1	7.6
				Quaker Sample				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Fathers	10.5	2.7	45.2	16.4	5.5	7.8	9.6	2.3
Sons	15.6	1.7	24.9	19.8	6.3	13.9	12.7	5.1
				Unattached Sample				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Fathers	10.5	-	36.3	15.3	3.2	10.6	11.3	12.9
Sons	7.6	1.5	15.3	26	7.6	13	16.8	12.2

(Stewart 1968:333)

Musgrove draws selectively upon Stewart's data. His argument rests upon the fact that half as many sons as fathers take up organisational occupations. He argues that the children switched to the arts and caring professions. The problem with the organisational category, is that it contains jobs that belong to both the field of production and the field of symbolic control have already been noted. However, the shift to the arts and caring professions is not significant. The difference between fathers and sons for all the other categories is nowhere greater than 6%. Technology among sons increased by 6% which Stewart explains as a difference in national opportunities. There is also a 5% increase in sons in the science category.

When Musgrove's argument is examined with reference to the Quaker sample, there is evidence of a slight shift towards the

arts and caring professions. The categories of service and science increase by 5% for sons and culture and the arts by 3%. The Quaker sample therefore validates Musgrove's argument to some extent. However, the unattached sample does not. Organisation drops by 21% and technology increases by 11% suggesting that the movement is within the field of production. There is also a slight decrease of 3% in the number of sons in service occupations.

Stewart also compares progressive school careers with grammar school leavers of a similar class background (Stewart 1968 Table IV 18:338). In the Registrar General's social class I the Friends' schools have a higher proportion of leavers on service occupations and a lower proportion in organisation. In social Class II, they have a higher proportion in culture and a lower proportion in technology than the grammar school leavers. For the unattached sample, in Social Class I and II, a higher proportion of leavers are in culture and the arts and a lower proportion in organisation. In Social Class II, the leavers also show a lower proportion in service and organisation. This comparison also supports Musgrove's argument that a preponderance of progressive school leavers enter culture, the arts, and science ie. the arts and caring professions.

The picture of whether the progressive schools function as a switch from industrial to professional-creative occupations is complex. The information can be presented more clearly by using Bernstein's classification of agents of production and agents of symbolic control to demonstrate the movement from fathers to sons. Table 2 is a transposition of Stewart's data in Table 1 into Bernstein's categories of production and symbolic control. It is based on Holland's conversion of Roe's model with organisation divided equally between the two categories.

Table 2 confirms the earlier shift in the quaker sample from production to symbolic control. This validates Musgrove's

argument although the shift is approximately 7% from fathers to sons.

Table 2: Percentage Distribution of Fathers and Sons Occupations Based on Holland's Conversion of Roe

Agents of Production (Business, Technology Outdoor and Organisation)

	Total Sample	Quaker	Unattached
Fathers	43.4	47.2	36.6
Sons	41.1	40.2	42.7
Increase or Decrease	-	-	+

Agents of Symbolic Control (Organisation, service, culture, arts and science)

	Total Sample	Quaker	Unattached
Fathers	56.5	52.8	63.4
Sons	58.8	59.7	58.2
Increase or Decrease	+	+	-

This situation is reversed for the unattached sample where there are 6% more sons than fathers in production and 5% fewer sons than fathers in symbolic control. Thus, in the unattached sample, the switch away from organisation is contained within production. The switch is mainly from organisation to technology.

In general, the range of career choices by sons reflects the occupational distribution of fathers with relatively little variation. In the total sample, the shift from production to symbolic control is very small, approximately 2%. Musgrove's

argument is validated for the Quaker sample. It seems that here he may have identified an important function of progressive schools in providing the facility for children to switch from the industrial to the professional hierarchy.

However, in acknowledging this function of progressive schools, there is no reason to accept Musgrove's main argument that progressive schools assist downward mobility. This idea is unconvincing. The reverse may be the case, that the OMC choose a progressive school because it serves this function as a cultural switch from the industrial to the professional hierarchy. Progressive schools also provide an opportunity for the child who is unlikely to succeed in the traditional, public schools. Rather than constituting a conscious choice for children to step down in the status hierarchy, parental choice of a progressive school is an example of preserving class boundaries.

6.4.3 Class Support for Invisible Pedagogy

Bernstein argues that invisible pedagogy was institutionalised by and for the NMC. Musgrove refutes this argument on the grounds that the OMC supported invisible pedagogy. Table 5 identifies the presence of both agents of production (a broad definition of the OMC) and agents of symbolic control (a broad definition of the NMC) among the fathers. However, there are more fathers in symbolic control than in production. To assess the conflicting claims of Bernstein and Musgrove about the class origins of invisible pedagogy, it is necessary to examine the function of progressive schools.

In the introduction to Class, Codes and Control Volume 3, Bernstein comments upon the range of British public schools from "the beatings of Harrow" to the "subtle spontaneity of Summerhill":

> "The British middle class can not only ensure its privileged position in education, but through the public

> school system it can select which social type .... I know of no other middle class which has the possibility of such a differentiated form of socialization." (Bernstein 1977:18)

It seems likely that the OMC choose progressive schools when their children fail to get into, or drop out of, more traditional public schools. The parents use the progressive schools but selectively as a last resort. However, progressive schools depend upon more positive support in order to survive. Punch argues that:

> "These schools survive by attracting parents who are prepared to pay quite high fees and who have to withdraw their children from the supposed benefits of a conventional education in order to support their belief in an unorthodox education." (Punch 1977:3)

Stewart's evidence, and also Punch's study of Dartington substantiate Bernstein's argument that invisible pedagogy was first institutionalised in the progressive schools by and for the NMC. Their arguments are based on historical evidence as well as more contemporary study of progressive schools. For example, Stewart argued that New Education schools were for the children of the liberal intelligentsia (Stewart 1968:37).

Punch identified these schools as "in part an answer to the social needs of alienated intellectuals" (Punch 1977:12).

It is possible to reconcile the conflicting claims of Bernstein and Musgrove if the concept of class "support" for progressive schools is carefully defined. Clearly, both the OMC and the NMC sent their children to progressive schools. However, it is unlikely that OMC parents were actively committed to progressivism. Rather they may have selected progressive schools as a last resort or as a therapeutic environment for their emotionally disturbed offspring. Such a choice then represents a rational response to the maintenance of class position. For the OMC, the schools could serve as a cultural switch from the industrial to the professional hierarchy. Rather than enabling children to step down, choice

of progressive schools by the OMC can be seen as an example of boundary preservation.

The presence of the OMC in progressive schools does not affect Bernstein's claim that invisible pedagogy was institutionalised by and for the NMC. It was this fraction of the middle class which created and endorsed New Education principles and sent their children to the progressive schools. The relationship between class and progressive schools is summarised below.

Progressive School Functions for the Middle Class

Class Position	Function of Progressive school	Definition of progressivism
Old Middle Class (Agents of Production)	1)Therapy: a salvage site for disturbed children.	Negative: a last resort.
	2)Last Resort: Unsuitability of traditional public school for the child. Progressive school offers a cultural switch from industrial to professional hierarchies.	Negative but with positive potential in the preservation of class position.
New Middle Class (Agents Symbolic	Fulfils parental belief in progressive education and their commitment to the ethos of progressive schools.	Positive commitment to progressive of principles.Control)

7. Conclusion

The evaluation of the Bernstein-Musgrove controversy has identified valuable insights in each argument. Musgrove's case against Bernstein has not been proved. Nevertheless, some aspects of his argument have been retained. The controversy was assessed in terms of three main points, the role of the landed gentry, the downward movement of elites and inter-generational downward mobility and the class origins of invisible pedagogy. The conclusions reached about each of these points will be considered.

There is sufficient evidence to accept Musgrove's identification of the role of the landed gentry in providing financial support to establish some of the progressive schools and the affinity between the schools and gentry culture. However, Musgrove's argument offers only a partial explanation of the origins of early progressive schools. It needs to be taken in conjunction with Bernstein's identification of the origins of these schools in the new middle class urban gentry as the major formative influence upon their pedagogic practices. In the same way as the NMC was in opposition to the public schools, Bernstein offers the more convincing explanation of the origins of progressive schools in the NMC but Musgrove identifies traces of landed gentry culture in progressivism.

Musgrove's argument that progressive schools facilitate the downward movement of elites is rejected here. There is little evidence of the elite status of fathers which undermines the argument that the schools serve this function. There is also little evidence of inter-generational downward movement. There is qualified support for Musgrove's claim that sons switch to the arts and caring professions especially in the Quaker sample and in comparison with state grammar school leavers. The identification of progressive schools as providing a cultural switch from industrial to professional hierarchies is recognised as a valuable insight but the idea

that the OMC sent their children to progressive schools to avoid reproducing themselves is rejected.

There is OMC support for progressive schools. Stewart's data suggests that approximately 40% of parents could be located in the OMC as agents of production. Musgrove's claim that it was the OMC rather than the NMC which supported invisible pedagogy is disputed. More of the fathers belonged to the NMC agents of symbolic control than the OMC. Moreover, the fact that OMC fathers sent their children to progressive schools does not imply that they supported an invisible pedagogy. These schools were more likely to have been chosen as a last resort.

Musgrove's argument does not provide any reason for altering the main hypothesis of this thesis. Rather, it confirms that New Education was created and sponsored by a fraction of the new middle class employed in the caring professions and their academic supports. Stewart's evidence provides additional confirmation that parents in the field of symbolic control sponsored New Education by sending their children to the progressive schools.

Footnotes Chapter 9

1. Bowles and Gintis (1976) link progressivism in education with changes in the economic structure associated with capital accumulation. They identified the Progressive Era (1890-1930) as a major turning point in American education which profoundly, if selectively, influenced the future development of the U.S. system. They argue that: "The changing division of labour within the corporation, the conflict between capital and labour both within the enterprise and in the larger society, and the changing occupational structure all had a major bearing on the education system. The expansion of schooling and the implementation of Progressive educational reforms were an expression of the developments." (Bowles and Gintis 1976:186) They further conclude that: "The essence of Progressivism in education was the rationalisation of the process of reproducing the social classes of modern industrial life." (ibid:199)

2. Giddens (1973) in The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies, supplies an early review of class theory. For a more exhaustive analysis of the middle class see Holland (1985). Dr. Holland developed am empirical model of class fractions for the purpose of allocating her sample of adolescents to positions in the social formation. Her empirical model was derived from theories of class with an emphasis upon the fractions of the middle class (see chapter 2). I am indebted to Dr. Holland for discussing with me the relative merits of different approaches to the new middle class and the problems of applying conceptual frameworks to empirical data.

3. Giddens clarifies Marx's theory:

> "Thus the bourgeoisie are a 'middle class' in feudalism, prior to their ascent to power; while the petty bourgeoisie, the small property owners, whose interests are partly divergent from those of large-scale capital, form what Marx sometimes explicitly refers to as the 'middle class' in capitalism." (Giddens 1973:31)

However, Marx contradicted his assumption that the middle class was a class in decline when he criticised Ricardo in Capital Vol IV for ignoring "the constantly growing number of the middle classes, those who stand between the workman ... and the capitalist and landlord ...." (Marx in Giddens 1973:177)

4. Giddens and Parkin use the generic term "middle

class". Wright follows Poulantzas (1975) in describing this fraction as the new petty bourgeoisie ie a segment of the bourgeoisie. In this respect, he adheres to Marx's abstract dichotomous model of class relations. Conversely, Gould criticises Marxists who confine their attention to the relationship of the NMC to capital and labour (Gould 1981:401). Instead Gould recognises the 'salaried middle class' as an independent class with independent interests.

5. Gould (1981) recognises division between private and public bureaucracies such as the technostructure of private industry or state welfare services. Nevertheless, he maintains that:

> "The divisions within the SMC certainly exist but they all occupy positions within career hierarchies. Advancement with hierarchies may be an individual matter ... but the advancement of career hierarchies as such is of concern to the SMC." (Gould 1981:413)

6. Johnson (1977) in his analysis of "The professions in the class structure" uses Giddens theory of class structuration and Carchedi's analysis of the contradictory functions of the NMC (as collective labour and agents of capital) as the conceptual basis for his typology of professions.

   He argues that:

> "The forms of occupational control identified professionalism, patronage and mediation (hegemony) can now be seen as processes integral to class structuration and reflecting a dominant mode of production." (Johnson 1977:106)
> Regrettably, Johnson's theory, although potentially promising, suffers with the theories of the NMC reviewed here, in its neglect of the relationship between class and education. For this reason it is not pursued further.

7. Bourdieu distinguishes between the reproduction of class position though physical capital and the reproduction of class through the transmission of cultural or pedagogic capital. Bernstein (1977) develops his own concept of symbolic control to conceptualise the process of cultural reproduction. Although Bernstein does not define 'symbolic control' further in his Class and Pedagogies paper, it has been subsequently refined to arrive at its most recent formulation in "On Pedagogic Discourse" (Bernstein 1988 see especially pp.33-48 and Appendix IV).

8. Most theories of the NMC focus upon production as crucial for the formation and reproduction of its

identity, explaining its ambiguous class position in terms of its contradictory location between capital and labour. They do not show its connection with symbolic control. Bernstein explains this ambiguity in terms of the relationship between education and production:

> "Education is dependent upon production but also possesses a specific independence or relative autonomy in the constituting of its codes. We are arguing, like others, that the location of the agents of symbolic control is an ambiguous one and is a structural parallel to the ambiguous relation between education and production." (Bernstein 1977:192)

9. Bernstein develops Durkheim's concept of organic solidarity to explain the origins of the middle class in the transition from a relatively simple to a more complex division of labour ie from mechanical to organic solidarity. He differentiates between the two fractions of the middle class in terms of forms of organic solidarity.

> "Durkheim's organic solidarity refers to individuals in privatised class relationships. The second form of organic solidarity celebrates the apparent release, not of the individual, but of the persons and new forms of social control. Thus we can distinguish individualised and personalised forms of organic solidarity within the middle class, each with their own distinctive and conflicting forms of socialisation and symbolic reality." (ibid:125)

10. Bernstein's concept of 'pedagogic capital' has been developed to clarify the role of education in the reproduction of the NMC in both the fields of production and of symbolic control. He describes its function schematically (Bernstein 1988:39)

As potential agents, members of a class acquire	Pedagogic Capital			
Agents can be described as	specialising in dominating principles of communication			
Their control may enter over	Physical resources		discursive resources	
Agents can be located in	Field of Production		Field of Symbolic Control	
Their activities or organisation can be located in	Private sector	Public sector	Private sector	Public sector

11. Bernstein argues that it is from the perspective of the learner that pedagogies are visible or invisible. Visible pedagogy is realised through explicit hierarchy (i.e. the rules that determine the hierarchical form of the transmission), explicit sequencing/pacing rules (i.e. the regulation of the progression of the transmission in time and sequence and the rate of acquisition of sequencing rules) and explicit criteria (i.e. "the transfer of criteria which the acquirer is expected to take over and explore and to evaluate the behaviour" (ibid:117). Conversely, invisible pedagogy is realised through implicit hierarchy, implicit sequencing/pacing rules and implicit criteria.

12. Bernstein does recognise that agents may perform more than one function:

> "Whilst we can distinguish the structure of integration, social control and processes of transmission which characterise the NMC, the agents will be found in different proportions in different levels of the hierarchy in each category .... Agents may be strongly or weakly classified in terms of the extent of their activity in more than one category and they may employ strong or weak framing procedures." (Bernstein 1977:128)

13. I am grateful to Janet Holland for her assistance in the translation of Roe's model into her classification of Bernstein's agents of production and symbolic control.

14. The category of organisation contains both agents of production and agents of symbolic control. Stewart gives examples of occupations under this heading for his total sample only, but these can be reclassified to show the division between production and symbolic control.

Agents of Production	Agents of Symbolic Control
Director	Higher civil servant
Company secretary	Administrator
Chief accountant	local government official
Actuary	clerical staff
Manager	
Buyer	
Shop assistant	

This category will be divided equally between production and symbolic control.

CONCLUSION

1. Introduction

In this thesis, the social origins of progressivism have been examined through a case study of the New Education Fellowship. The thesis is divided into three parts. The first investigated the origins of the New Education movement and its "conditions of emergence". Part II focused upon The New Era and its intellectual field and achieved a more precise formulation of the authors and contents of New Education discourse and of its emancipatory interests. The third part traced the social origins of progressivism. The social basis of the NEF was identified in an emergent fraction of the new middle class, the caring professions and their academic supports.

This chapter reviews the two major structuring principles of this research, its methodology and the original hypotheses. There follows a brief synopsis of the fate of the independent progressive school. The thesis concludes with two questions that have been raised in the course of the research that it would be important to investigate in the future.

2. Review of the Methodology

An original approach was taken to the review of the literature in which a new application of Foucault's archaeological method was used as a template to organise the literature review. The Specialised and General histories provided the material for the archaeological analysis of the rules of formation of New Education as an educational discourse. The purpose of the Foucauldian analysis was threefold. Firstly, to demonstrate the different constructions of the "conditions of emergence" of New Education in the literature. Secondly, to provide a description of the discourse and to represent the diversity of the historians' opinions

about New Education. Thirdly, to explain the relative lack of interest in the NEF as a site for historical texts. The successful application of Foucault's method in this context raised the question of whether the Foucauldian method should be used in the subsequent analysis of the NEF.

Foucault's method has been effectively applied in a number of existing studies of educational and psychological discourses (for example, Jones and Williamson (1979); Walkerdine (1984) and Rose (1985)). Walkerdine focuses upon the "conditions of emergence" of developmental psychology and child-centred pedagogy and Rose traces the emergence of the psychology of the individual. Both authors identify the historical conditions of emergence of their discourses in order to write the history of their present practices and the sedimentation of the past within them. The authors adopt a genealogical method. A genealogical approach to New Education should start from contemporary forms of progressivism in education and demonstrate the sedimentation of New Education discourse among them. In this thesis, the aim of the analysis of the NEF was not to reconstruct a history of the present.

There is potential for an archaeological approach to the study of the NEF and its discourse. Foucault analysed marginal institutions to trace the conditions of emergence of disciplinary society. The archaeological method traces the rules of formation of a discourse and how it produces normalised individuals. Foucault demonstrates how disciplinary techniques have been transposed from marginal institutions to play a crucial role in modern strategies of power relations in contemporary institutions. Similarly, the NEF might have been interpreted as a marginal institution because it was a voluntary organisation operating outside of the state educational apparatus. New Education proposed a cosmology of individual change that freed the child from the authoritarian constraints of the prevailing educational system, to produce normalised children. Moreover, New Education has been subsequently transformed to provide a crucial underpinning of

post-war progressive practices in state schools.

However, for the purposes of this thesis, the archaeological method was rejected because it does not generate the principles required to deal with the issues arising from the content analysis. One of the original reasons for this study of the NEF was that the organization had been under-researched with the result that the existing literature failed to recognise its scope and influence. The initial aim of the research was to construct a detailed record of the NEF which provided an adequate testimony to its pioneering efforts in the field of education in the period 1920-1952. Thus the major part of the thesis has been devoted to the empirical analysis of the NEF and its discourse. The content analysis was chosen as the method which would produce the desired empirical specification of the authors and content of New Education discourse in Chapters 5 and 6.

Further,the archaeological method does not distinguish between the discursive and the extra-discursive elements of a discourse which severs the link between the discourse and its social base. Foucault's analysis of the microphysics of power demonstrates how disciplinary techniques operate as a means of exercising power over individuals but does not incorporate an adequate explanation of these power relations. Instead of Foucault's method, Bernstein's theory of the new middle class attempts to provide a theoretical explanation of the social origins of progressivism. The analysis of the NEF has contributed towards an understanding of the ideological basis of this emergent fraction of the new middle class.

The shift in perspective from Foucault to Bernstein does not require such a major conceptual leap. Their theories are contemporary and both derive from structuralist traditions. Recently, sociologists have pointed to similarities in their observations. For example, Tyler (1988) argues that Foucault's genealogies of the emergence of disciplinary society and the microphysics of power parallels Bernstein's theory of codes

(Tyler 1988:164). Tyler claims a complementarity and convergence of method:

> "While the Foucauldian method would seem to be uniquely capable of unearthing the circumstances of the discursive formation known as 'pedagogy', the theory of codes would seem to have particular strengths in unravelling its complex manifestations in the process of social control and social reproduction." (ibid:168)

With reference to the discourse of New Education and its production of normalised individuals, both Foucault's concept of normalised discipline in Discipline and Punish, Foucault (1979) and, Bernstein's concept of 'invisible pedagogy' in Class, Codes and Control could be used as a theoretical explanation. However, for Foucault, power is ubiquitous whereas Bernstein relates the exercise of power to social structure. Atkinson describes their different treatment of power as follows:

> "Whereas for Foucault the discursive formations and practices obey their own laws of transformation, for Bernstein the distribution and circulation of texts are determined by social relationships." (Atkinson 1984:178)

Bernstein's analysis of 'invisible pedagogy' links it to the new middle class and is able to explain its rise and demise with reference to the economic-educative context. Foucault's analysis of the spread of disciplinary power explains the rise of progressivism in education but cannot similarly account for its demise. In spite of the affinity between concepts in Foucault's and Bernstein's work, Bernstein's analysis provides the more useful theoretical framework for the examination of the NEF. Bernstein's theory has been used to explore the social origins of the Fellowship in the new middle class and its discourse of New Education as an invisible pedagogy which represents the educational ideology of this fraction. Moreover, his theory is useful to specify the conditions for the re-contextualisation of New Education into the state education system.

3. Review of the Initial Hypotheses

3.1 Social Class Origins of New Education

The main hypothesis identifies the social origins of progressivism in the caring professions and their academic supports. This hypothesis was tested against research evidence of the social basis of the New Education Fellowship and its discourse. In Chapter 9, Bernstein's theory of the new middle class (NMC) was examined as a conceptual framework to explain the social class origins and identity of the Fellowship. It was found that the analysis of the NEF and its discourse provides empirical support for his theory. The professions associated with the NEF can be identified as a fraction of the agents of symbolic control and located in the field of symbolic control.

This thesis makes selective use of Bernstein's theory of class and invisible pedagogy as a theoretical instrument which was most able to explain the social basis of the NEF. It was possible to test further the adequacy of his theory against the critique of his position by Musgrove. Musgrove claimed that it was the old middle class who supported the progressive schools. The Bernstein-Musgrove controversy was evaluated with reference to Stewart's independent study of progressive boarding schools. The resolution of this controversy proved interesting because both the old and the new middle class sent their children to these schools but for different reasons. It was the NMC parents who were committed to and sponsored their progressive principles.

3.1.1 New Education as an Invisible Pedagogy

The main hypothesis claims that New Education discourse constituted an invisible pedagogy.

The analysis of New Education and its emancipatory interests in Chapter 7, provides a detailed description of the discourse which corresponds to the features of invisible pedagogy. New Education was created by and for the NMC and

practised in independent progressive schools. It was formulated in explicit opposition to the visible pedagogy of public schools. As such, New Education was an interrupter discourse in relation to schools. It further required new patterns of child-centred socialization both in school and at home. The emancipatory pedagogy was predicated on a concept of freedom for the child which assumed that "implicit nurture reveals unique nature". The affinity between New Education discourse and an invisible pedagogy was tested and confirmed in Chapter 9. The ideology of New Education represented the educational ideology of the NMC.

3.2 The NEF as a New Intellectual Field in Education

The concept of 'field' is taken from Bourdieu and Boltanski, who define it as consisting of:

> "a system of differentiated positions which are united by objective relations of complementarity, competition and/or conflict and which can be occupied by relatively interchangeable agents who, in the strategies which put them in opposition to those who hold different positions, are obliged to take account of the objective relations between the positions."
> (Bourdieu and Boltanski 1978:203)

Bourdieu and Boltanski employ the concept of field at the macro level, for example, the economic field and the micro level of the academic field or an individual organisation.

In the context of the NEF, the concept of field is applied at the micro level. The Fellowship began as a voluntary organisation that appealed to teachers and isolated educational pioneers. The Fellowship created its own field. In The New Era and through the organisation, the specialised agencies of the field-creating discourse were brought together. The analysis of authors in Chapter 5 demonstrates that the majority were employed by the government in the rising professions related to education and mental health. They worked in diverse institutional settings such as the school, local government, universities, teacher-training colleges and the clinics.

However, the authors were centrally placed for the transmission of New Education through the inter-relatedness of their functions.

In the absence of a developed state education system, the NEF may have represented a major hegemonic influence in the field of education at the time. The Fellowship was a unique synthesis of agents and agencies that were integrated through a network of social relations connecting the higher and lower reaches of the state in the absence of more formal, institutional structures of communication.

In order to discover whether the NEF created a new intellectual field, it is necessary to understand the relationship between New Education and other pedagogic discourses at the time. The model of re-contextualising fields proposed by Bernstein (1988) is useful here in specifying the interrelations between competing pedagogies. He distinguishes between the official pedagogic re-contextualising field (ORF) of the state and the pedagogic re-contextualising fields (PRF) and positions within them.

The ORF is regulated and administered by state officials and yet incorporates academics in some of its functions. The PRF enjoys relative autonomy from state agencies and is:

> "... drawn from university departments of education, colleges of education, schools, together with Foundations, specialised media, journals, weeklies and publishing houses." (ibid:50)

In the inter-war period, the ORF was less specialised. Nevertheless, the official pedagogic discourse would be represented by the visible pedagogy of the public and grammar schools, to which New Education was utterly opposed.

The relationship between the PRF and the ORF was well established within the Fellowship in the inter-war period. Firstly, educational administrators, which included members of

the inspectorate, belonged to the NEF and endorsed the incorporation of New Education discourse into the state system. Secondly, the NEF submitted evidence to the Board of Education Consultative Committee enquiries and some NEF members were invited to join the Consultative Committee as recognised educational experts. Thirdly, teacher-training colleges taught New Education methods to successive generations of trainee teachers, providing an important channel for the wider dissemination of New Education ideas.

Thus the NEF already contained crucial connections with the ORF which suggests that the Fellowship may have occupied a dominant position in the PRF. This claim, although speculative, is endorsed by the evidence of Selleck, a historian of New Education. He argues that New Education became the intellectual orthodoxy of the late 1930's.

3.3 The NEF as an International Movement

This hypothesis stated that the intellectual field of New Education was not confined to one country but operated to unite educationists from different nations. The NEF was a voluntary organisation, started by Mrs Ensor, with the aim to promote international and experimental education. Its appeal was to teachers and isolated pioneers in its endeavour to create an international community of intellectuals.

The Fellowship established an international field for New Education through an international network of committees, conferences and journals. In Chapter 2, it was argued that priority was given to the internationalist ethos of the movement. National sections were not introduced until the late 1920's when the organisation had expanded and required a more efficient structure. The NEF espoused a philosophy of "universal personalism" in its promotion of a child-centred education as the harbinger of world democratic unity. The success of the Fellowship at the international level was based upon the suspension of national differences and overriding

national prejudices by fostering international understanding. The politics of trans-nationalism provided the motivation for many Fellowship activities.

The NEF forged an international community of educators in the international field of New Education. From the 1950's onwards, World education became a major focus in The New Era. The internationalist ethos was reinforced when the organisation changed its name to the World Education Fellowship in 1966.

3.4 The Specificity of 'The New Era' as Pedagogic Relay of New Education

This hypothesis was tested in Chapter 8 by comparing The New Era with two contemporaneous journals. The comparison confirmed that the journals represented different positions within the field of education, each with different interests, audiences and objectives. The New Era was unique as pedagogic relay of New Education discourse.

The Journal of Education and School World represented the interests of the teacher and was written by and for educational practitioners. The British Journal of Educational Psychology also appealed to a specific target audience, consisting of educational psychologists. This journal launched intelligence testing as a major selection policy which had an enduring influence upon the state education system. It may have occupied a position within the ORF among the educational agencies which shape and legitimate government policy.

The New Era addressed a wider audience, encompassing both the intellectual field of New Education and its practitioners. It occupied a dominant position in the PRF and sought to influence the ORF. The discourse of New Education was introduced selectively into the ORF, but, in the process of re-contextualisation, its impact upon official pedagogic discourse was more diffuse than the impact of I.Q. on selection policies. This was inevitable given that the incorporation of

progressivism depended upon the weakening of stratification principles which determined the organisation of education in schools.

3.5 The Determination of New Education as an Institutional Practice

This hypothesis claimed that the anti-authoritarian and anti-industrial stance of New Education determined its institutional location as a practice. In Chapter 1, the emergence of New Education as a pedagogic practice was identified with the country boarding schools. New Education was profoundly anti-authoritarian and opposed to the coercive discipline and visible pedagogy of public and grammar schools. There was no scope for the development of New Education within the existing state education system.

New Education was anti-industrial and attempted to create an alternative morality in the idyllic atmosphere of the country boarding schools. Their natural surroundings insulated children from the oppressive ugliness of urban industrial society. This emphasis upon the institutional location of the school constrained the possibility of the wider dissemination of New Education beyond the private sector. The economic conditions were not ideal for the expansion of New Education into the state system. Simon's history of the period describes it as a time of severe economic retrenchment when educational policy promises were constantly broken due to a withdrawal of educational funding. Nevertheless, isolated experiments were reported in The New Era, in the 1930's and 1940's, by teachers practising New Education in state schools.

The discourse of New Education opposed the competitive spirit of industrial society. It replaced competition with co-operation and discipline through coercion by self-government. The conditions of freedom in education presupposed a long educational life and was expensive in terms of teacher time and resources. The child-centred pedagogy

privileged personal development over the acquisition of specific cognitive competence or academic qualifications. These factors militated against any easy acceptance of New Education as a practice in the ORF. Indeed, its re-contextualisation in state schools was highly selective.

The process of incorporation began at the margins of the state system. New Education principles were more readily accommodated in nursery schools and informed the management of difficult children in the child guidance network. In the work of the Plowden Report, aspects of the child-centred pedagogy and activity methods were approved at the primary level (Selleck, 1972). At the secondary level, the practical approach to learning became associated with the education of under-achievers. New Education practices have provided a foundation for progressive state pedagogic practices especially in the 1960's and early 1970's. However, in the process of re-contextualisation, the discourse has changed.

In the institutionalisation of New Education, this discourse has been fractured and separated from its specific application to the new middle class as defined in this thesis. In the period of this study, New Education was essentially apolitical and concerned with changing individuals. It offered an education sponsored by and for the new middle class. In the 1960's, different understandings of progressivism emerged, for example in the work of Sharp and Green (1975). Gordon (1987) offers a typology of progressive positions which reveals that they were linked with political positions. New Education as a pedagogic modality was freed from its association with the emancipation of individuals within the NMC. Instead, progressivism became identified as a class emancipator for the working class. This realignment of progressivism with politics had important consequences for its survival as an educational pedagogy in the Official Re-contextualising Field.

The integration of progressive education in the 1960's was achieved in a climate of economic expansion in which education

achieved the measure of relative autonomy necessary to introduce expensive progressive reforms. Gordon (1987) links her analysis of progressivism to the economic-educative context to explain both its rise and decline. The institutionalisation of New Education depended upon the relative autonomy of education from production. In addition, it was the weakening of stratification principles in schools that made the introduction of progressive reforms possible. Until these conditions were met in the 1960's, New Education remained on the periphery of the state system. This hypothesis is endorsed by Bernstein (1988). He claims that shifts towards invisible pedagogies occur only in times of economic buoyancy when the dominant agents shaping policy are drawn from the field of symbolic control (Bernstein 1988:41).

3.6 New Education and its Emancipatory Interests

This hypothesis was examined in Chapter 7 and claims that the precondition for internationalism was the emancipation of the child, family and nation from authoritarian constraints. The focus was upon the freedom of the child in the 1920's and the philosophy of universal personalism ascribed absolute autonomy to education as the agency of democratic reconstruction. In the 1930's, visions of social transformation also incorporated the family with a dual focus upon the home and school. The New Era promoted parent education as the onus shifted to parents to develop normalised loving parent-child relationships. In the 1940's, the NEF redoubled its efforts to create the conditions for world peace. The disruption of family life in the war had the effect of elevating the importance of the mother-child relationship while also confirming the value of family life. It was ultimately the stable family that was identified as the cornerstone of democracy.

New Education discourse might have been emancipatory in its intentions but it was not emancipatory in its effects. The child-centred pedagogy implied an intensive observation of all aspects of children's behaviour in case they showed symptoms

of maladjustment. In spite of creating the conditions for freedom, all aspects of the child's life now came under the teacher's scrutiny. Similarly, the role of the mother assumed greater importance within the family as the primary agent of socialization but her power was pedagogic rather than material. The mother's position was predicated on her constant availability to the child which left her in a state of economic dependency on her husband. In effect, both mother and child were locked into mutual dependency in which the valuation of maternal competence was measured by the successful socialization of the child. Thus the vision of future international democracy, resting on the cornerstone of the stable family, was predicated upon a fundamental inequality within the family.

4. The Future of the Independent Progressive School

It is almost a century since Abbotsholme, the first progressive boarding school was founded in 1889. The schools were founded in the decades between the 1880's and the 1940's. Stewart, in his study of progressive boarding schools, claims that they started from a position of protest (Stewart 1968:343) but, inevitably, over the years, they have changed. There has been an important shift towards a more academic orientation which was evident as early as the 1940's, when advertisements in The New Era emphasised high academic standards. Some schools now more closely resemble a public school, for example, Abbotsholme is regarded by parents as public rather than progressive (Skidelsky 1969:19).

There have been no new progressive schools since the 1940's (Stewart 1968:348; Skidelsky 1969:244). Some of the original schools have closed, Dartington Hall, the most recent, shut its doors in 1987. The demise of progressive schools contrasts with the massive expansion of private education in the last decades and it is important to consider the future of progressive schools. In spite of the opposition of progressive schools to the traditional public school, they united to oppose

the threat of incorporation into the state system in the 1960's. However, they had different reasons for opposing incorporation. The progressive schools wanted to maintain their independence because they offered a distinctive educational form that was endorsed by the parents. Also the schools were resistant to the increased accountability that incorporation would entail.

The arguments for and against integration were forcefully expressed at a colloquy at Dartington in 1965. The 'modern progressives' were politically motivated to promote equality of opportunity through comprehensive reorganisation. They favoured the incorporation of progressive schools into the state system to serve either in an experimental capacity or to specialise in the management of difficult children. The 'old-style' progressives who represented the progressive schools, were opposed to comprehensive schools because they wanted to safeguard individual development. They also rejected the roles proposed for the progressive schools in the state system because they missed the essence of progressivism. It was a distinct educational pedagogy formulated in opposition to the educational orthodoxy. It was designed for normal children but able to cope with maladjustment.

The old-style progressivism was psychologically based and rested on the primacy of the person whereas the modern form was political and advocated institutional reform. Ash defended the personalist ethos of the 'old-style' progressivism but recognised that the two positions were irreconcilable. The difference between the two groups can be expressed in terms of the distinction between power and control. Essentially, the "modern" progressives were radicals aiming to transform power relations between social groups whereas the "old-style" progressives were concerned to change the relations of control between individuals.

In the socio-economic context of the Seventies and Eighties, progressive schools have changed. They reflect a more

academic orientation in recognition that their pupils must gain academic qualifications if they are to compete in the labour market. However, given the decline of progressive schools in contrast to the massive expansion of the private sector, it would appear that parents prefer to pay for the visible pedagogy of traditional schools. Progressivism is unlikely to thrive in times of economic recession because it is an expensive educational form in terms of teacher time, the length of educational life and resources. Further, it is difficult to evaluate an invisible pedagogy. Nevertheless, within the state sector, elements of invisible pedagogy have been incorporated to provide a more appropriate education for the working class at the secondary level. According to Bernstein, features of invisible pedagogy have been embedded in a "market-oriented visible pedagogy" which transforms education into life skills (Bernstein 1988:34). Meanwhile, the independent progressive schools maintain their independence of the state and rely upon parental sponsorship for their continued existence.

5. Questions for Future Research

It would be interesting to discover why and how New Education became incorporated into state pedagogic practices. The NEF was a broad-based movement which created a new intellectual field with connections across a range of educational institutions. It occupied a dominant position in the pedagogic re-contextualising field in the inter-war period. In that time, the Fellowship established crucial connections with the Official Re-contextualising Field, mainly through submissions to Board of Education Reports, and through educational administrators and teacher-training college tutors. It would be interesting to trace the interconnections between the NEF and the state education apparatus.

It has been argued in earlier chapters that the NEF may have represented a major hegemonic influence in the field of education. The Fellowship was intent on translating the newly

established field of education from the voluntary to the state sector as part of its expansion and hegemonic project to formulate an education system more appropriate to the needs and aspirations of the new middle class. In order to gauge the success of its hegemonic project, it is necessary to establish more precisely the path and pattern of New Education's incorporation and re-contextualisation into state forms of progressivism.

The second research question concerned the position of women within the NEF to determine the extent to which they were active in the creation of the discourse. It was suggested, in Chapter 9, that Bernstein may have overstated the role of women in the creation of an invisible pedagogy. Within the NEF, Mrs Ensor was instrumental in creating the organisation and launched The New Era but women were always a minority on the executive committee. Similarly, in the creation of New Education discourse, approximately one-third of the authors were women. Nevertheless. the majority of women authors were teachers who acted more as reproducers of New Education ideas than as shapers. However, it is also conceivable that the involvement of women in the creation of New Education was greater than in the formation of any other contemporaneous educational discourse. It is clear that further research is needed to distinguish between the different roles of women within the NEF as producers, shapers and relayers of its pedagogic discourse.

It would be interesting to situate New Education discourse in the context of the emergence of modern conceptions of mothering and to link the role of women within the organisation and its discourse to the wider sphere of women's history.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX 1

Who's Who in the N.E.F.

In this appendix, there is a list of names of all those members of the NEF, or people connected with the Fellowship, who have been mentioned in this thesis. The list appears in alphabetical order and includes the nationality and professional status of each person, where known.

NAME	NATIONALITY	PROFESSION
Dr. Alfred Adler	Austrian	Psychiatrist
Dr. J.A. Alcock	Unknown	Psychiatrist
Lord Allen of Hurtwood	British	Politician Founded Hurtwood school.
Mr. George Arundale	British	Educational Administrator (Theosophist)
Mr. J.M. Badley	British	Head of Bedales School
L.C. Badouin	French	Psychologist
Mr. M. Bakule	Czechoslovakian	Teacher of Crippled children
Dr. P.B. Ballard	British	Educational Administrator
Mr. H. Ballie-Weaver	British	Lawyer First Chair of NEF
Mr. Kenneth Barnes	British	Head of Wennington School
Miss E. Bazeley	British	Teacher
Prof. C. Becker	German	Minister of Education
Dr. C. Beeby	Unknown	Unknown
Prof. H. Bergson	French	Prof.of Philosophy
Bertier	French	Director of L'ecole des Roches
Dr. R.J. Best	Australian	Unknown
Dr. William Blatz	Canadian	Psychiatrist
Dr. Kees Boeke	Dutch	Director of Bilthoven Community
Prof. Pierre Bovet	Swiss	Psychologist
Dr. John Bowlby	British	Psychiatrist
Dr. William Boyd	British	Lecturer in Education
Dr. T. Braneld	American	Unknown
Martin Buber	Austrian	Lecturer in Philosophy
Dr. Charlotte Buhler	Austrian	Prof of Child Psychology
Dorothy Burlingham	British	Psychiatrist

NAME	NATIONALITY	PROFESSION
Prof. Cyril Burt	British	Prof. of Psychology
Dr. Mary Chadwick	British	Psychiatrist
Dr. Chang Peng-Chum	Chinese	Prof. of Philosophy of Education
Franz Cizek	Austrian	Teacher of Creative Art
Claude Claremont	French	Teacher of Montessori Methods
Sir Fred Clarke	British	Director of Univ. of London,Instit. of Education
Dr. Edouard Claparede	Swiss	Prof of Experimental Psychology
Mr. J. Compton	British	Educational Administ.
Caldwell Cook	British	Teacher originator of Playway Method
Dr. Emile Coue	French	Psychiatrist Auto-education
R. Cousinet	French	Teacher originator of Free Group Method
Dr. H. Crichton-Miller	British	Psychiatrist, Tavistoc Clinic
Dr. E. Crosby-Kemp	British	Clinical Psychologist
Dr. Ralph Crowley	British	Medical officer to Board of Education
Mr. W.B. Curry	British	Head of Dartington Hall
Jacques Dalcroze	Swiss	Teacher, originator of Eurythmics
Dr. Ovid Decroly	Belgian	Lecturer in Child Psychology
Mr. H.C. Dent	British	Teacher/journalist
Prof. John Dewey	American	Prof of Philosophy
Miss Dodge	American	Unknown theosophist supporter of NEF
Mrs.Douglas-Hamilton	British	Unknown, theosophist supporter of NEF
Margaret Drummond	British	Lecturer in Education /Psychologist
Mrs. Beatrice Ensor	British	Teacher/ H.M.I. Founde member, Director of NE
Dr. Adolphe Ferriere	Swiss	Lecturer/originator of Activity/Schools Director of NEF
Prof. J.J. Findlay	British	Prof. of Education
Miss Catherine Fletcher	British	Principal of Bingley T.T. College
Celestin Freinet	French	Teacher,originator of Printing Press Method
Dr. Anna Freud	Austrian	Psychiatrist
C. Gasquoine-Hartley	British	Psychologist

NAME	NATIONALITY	PROFESSION
W.R. George	British	Unknown, financed Little Commonwealth
Mr. Nicholas Gillett	British	Teacher
George H. Green	British	Lecturer in Education
Mr. Gregersen	Danish	Unknown
Mrs. S. Gruenberg	American	Director of Child Study Assoc.
Major L. Haden-Gruest	British	Lawyer ?(Theosophist)
Dorothy Halbach	British	Assistant Editor of The New Era
Mlle. A. Hamaide	Belgian	Director L'ecole Nouvelle
Dr. E.A. Hamilton-Pearson	British	Psychiatrist
Prof. H.R. Hamley	Austrian	Director of Univ. of London, Institute of Education
C. Winifred Harley	British	Director of Nursery Research Centre
Mrs. E. Hartree		International Council of Women
Mr. I. Hawliczek	Austrian	Organising Secretary of Theosophical Societ
Mr. James Hemming	British	Psychologist
Dr. Carl Hilker	German	Educational Administrator
Beatrice Hinkle	British	Teacher
Edmond Holmes	British	Educational Administrator
Pryns Hopkins	British	Psychiatrist
Miss E.P. Hughes	British	Principal Cambridge T.T. College
Dr. Alice Hutchinson	British	Psychiatrist Tavistock Clinic
Dr. Susan Isaacs		Psychiatrist/lecturer in Child Development
Dr. Eliot Jacques	French	Psychologist
Dr. G.B. Jeffery		Director University of London, Inst. of Education
C. Jinarajadasa	Indian	Psychologist (Theosophist)
Mr. David Jordan	British	Lecturer in Education
Dr. Carl Jung	Swiss	Psychiatrist
Dr. D. Katzaroff	Bulgarian	Lecturer in Philosophy
Prof. W.H. Kilpatrick	American	Prof. of Philosophy of Education
Dr. C.W. Kimmins	British	Chief Inspector of Schools
Miss Isabel King	British	Head of St. Christopher's Sch.
Mary Kings	British	Teacher
Prof. Paul Langevin	French	Lecturer at College de France

NAME	NATIONALITY	PROFESSION
Prof.J.A.Lauwerys		Director of University of London, Inst. of Education
Margaret Lee	British	Principal of Wychwood School
Mr. A. Lisner	Canadian	Director of Art Gallery
Lillian de Lissa		Principal of Gypsy Hill T.T. College
Dr. Margaret Lowenfeld	German	Psychiatrist
Prof. Lowy	Austrian	Psychologist
Mr. A.J. Lynch	British	Head of West Green School
Mr. George Lyward	British	Psychotherapist
Anna Maccheroni	Italian	Directrice of Montessori Schools
Muriel Mackenzie	British	Assistant Editor of The New Era
Dr. E.G. Malherbe	South African	Director of National Bureau of Education
Dr. Karl Mannheim	German	Prof. of Sociology of Education
Prof. Emile Marcault	French	Psychologist (Theosophist)
F.S. Martin	British	Educational Administrator
Dorothy Matthews	British	Member of NEF Skyp
Mr. G. Mattson	Swedish	Teacher/University Lecturer
R. McCallum	British	Psychologist
Sir Percival Meadon	British	Unknown NEF treasurer
Hughes Mearns	American	Teacher of English
Winifred Mercier	British	Principal Whitelands T.T. College
Dr. and Mrs. Mitchell	Canadian	Mental Hygienists
Dr. Maria Montessori	Italian	Doctor/Psychologist Educator
Dr. William Moodie	British	Psychiatrist Director of London Child Guidance Clinic
Prof. Ben Morris	British	Psychologist
A.S. Neill	British	Founder of Summerhill School
Prof. Nicholson	British	Prof. of Education
Prof. Percy Nunn	British	Director of University of London, Instit. of Education
Mr. Edward O'Neill	British	Head of a Lancashire School
Vivian Ogilvie	British	Teacher, later joined B.B.C.
Consuelo Oppenheim	Unknown	NEF Commissions Secretary

NAME	NATIONALITY	PROFESSION
A.K.C. Ottaway	British	Teacher
Miss Helen Parkhurst	American	Teacher originator of Dalton Plan
Dr. Eden Paul	British	Psychiatrist
Miss Muriel Payne	British	Nurse at Tavistock Clinic
Anne Pedler	British	Assistant Editor of The New Era
Dr. Peter Petersen	German	Prof.of Pedagogy originator of Jera Pla
Prof. Jean Piaget	Swiss	Psychologist
Prof. Henri Pieron	French	Lecturer at College de France
Mr. Powell	British	Teacher at Bedales School
Profit	French	Teacher, originator of School Co-operative
Radhakrishnan	Indian	Educationist
Roger Raven	British	University Lecturer
Mr. Wyatt Rawson	British	Teacher/Director of NI
Mr. Frank Redeper	American	Unknown. Director America
Belle Rennie	British	Hon. Sec. of Dalton Association
Prof. Richardson	British	Prof. of Pediatrics
Dr. John Rickman	British	Psychiatrist to London Clinic
Dr. Elizabeth Rotten	Swiss	War Victim Relief worker organising - Director of NEF.
Dr. Harold Rugg	American	Prof. of Education Teacher's College
Dr. Carson Ryan	American	Lecturer at Swathmare College
Dr. Saleeby	Swiss	Psychologist. Open air education
Sir Michael Sadler	British	Master of University College Oxford
Prof. K. Saiyidain	Indian	Educational Administrator
Mr. Brian Salter-Davies	British	Educational Administrator
Prof. F. Schonell	British	Prof. of Education Wales.
E.F. Sharp	British	Psychologist
Mr. E. Sharwood-Smith	British	Head of Newbury Grammar School
Miss Clare Soper	British	Secretary of NEF
Dr. Minna Specht	Hungarian	Unknown
Dr. George Stead	British	Educational Administrator
Dr. Rabindranath Tagore	Indian	Educationist Philosopher/originator of Sanitiken Schools.

NAME	NATIONALITY	PROFESSION
Prof. R.H. Tawney	British	Prof. Economic History
Dr. Maria Te Water	South African	Doctor
Ruth Thomas	British	Educational Psychologist
Agnes Tilson	American	Founder of Merril - Palmer School
Prof. Godfrey Thomson	British	Prof. of Education
Miss Tudor-Hart	British	Teacher
Dr. Robert Ulich	Dutch	Educational Administrator Lecturer
Dr. Van Der Leeuw	South African	Lecturer in Education
Dr. Peggy Volkov	Unknown	Assistant/ Editor of The New Era
Prof. Henri Wallon	French	Lecturer at College de France
Dr. Carleton Washburne	American	Educational Administrator originator Winnetka Technique.
Dr. Edna White	American	Principal Merrill Palmer School
Dr. Donald Winnicott	British	Psychiatrist
Mr. E.W. Woodhead	British	Educational Administrator
Alice Woods	British	Principal Maria Grey T.T. College
Rector Laurins Zilliacus	Swedish	Headteacher/Lecturer

APPENDIX 2

Executive Committee Lists

1. The First Consultative Committee - 1931

The members of the first Consultative Committee appointed in 1931 consisted of the following:

Mrs Beatrice Ensor, Chair of the International Council and Organising Director of the Fellowship.

Dr Adolphe Ferriere, Founder of Pour L'Ere Nouvelle and Joint Director of the Fellowship, Switzerland.

Dr Elizabeth Rotten, Founder of Das Werdende Zeitalter and Joint Director of the NEF, Germany.

Dr William Boyd, Lecturer in Education, University of Glasgow.

Prof. Fred Clarke, Professor of Education, McGill University, Canada.

Prof. D Katzaroff, University of Sofia, Bulgaria.

Mr A J Lynch, former headmaster, Field secretary of NEF.

Mr G Mattsson, University of Uppsala, Sweden.

Prof. Jean Piaget, Bureau International d'Education, Switzerland.

Prof. Henri Pieron, College de France, France.

Mr Wyatt Rawson, former teacher appointed to NEF headquarters staff in 1930.

Dr Harold Rugg, Professor of Education, Columbia University, USA.

Dr Carson Ryan, Director of the Department for Indian Education, Washington.

Dr Robert Ulrich, Ministerialrat, Dresden.

Dr Edna White, Director of Merrill-Palmer School, Detroit.

Rector Lauirn Zilliacus, Head of Tolo Svenska Samskola, Finland.

The committee comprised a relatively stable group throughout the Thirties with the addition of a few new members. Mlle. Hamaide, co-worker with Dr Ovid Decroly at L'Ecole Nouvelle, Brussells, joined the committee in the

early 1930's. Also Mr A Lismer, Director of Toronto Art Gallery represented the culturalist dimension on the committee. Dr E G Malherbe was Director of the National Bureau of Education and an important educationl administrator in South Africa. He organised the 1934 conference in South Africa and subsequently joined the committee. On the 1937 Committee, Prof. Henri Pieron was replaced by his colleague Prof. Henri Wallon, also of the College de France and reputedly a left-wing intellectual. At this stage Dr Chang Peng-Chun, Professor of Philosophy and Education at Nankai University, Tientsin joined the committee. He was a speaker at the 1936 Cheltenham Conference on culture. Mr Frank Redefer represented the Progressive Education Alliance, which became the American section of the NEF in 1932.

2. Headquarters Committee Appointed for the Duration of World War II

Mr J A Lauwerys, University of London Institute of Education, Lecturer in Comparative Education.

Mr A J Lynch, Vice-Chairman of the NEF.

Sir Percival Meadon, Hon. Treasurer of the NEF.

Dr William Boyd, Lecturer in Education, University of Glasgow.

Sir Fred Clarke, Director of University of London Institute of Education.

Prof. H R Hamley, University of London Institute of Education.

Mrs E Hartree, International Council of Women.

Mr W Rawson, Teacher at Bryanston School.

Mr E W Woodhead, Director of Education, Norwich and Chairman of EWEF.

3. Executive Committee 1949-51

The first Available list of the Executive was for the years 1949-51 and consisted of the following:

President - Dr Carleton Washburne, Director of Schools in Northern Italy.

Chairman - Dr Laurin Zilliacus, Finland. Lecturer in Education.

Vice-Chairman - Prof. J Lauwerys, University of London Institute of Education.

Prof. Jean Piaget, Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau, Switzerland.

Prof. Henri Wallon, College de France, Paris.

Mlle. Amelie Hamaide, Belgium, Directrice L'Ecole Nouvelle.

Dr William Boyd, Lecturer in Education, University of Glasgow.

Dr R J Best, Australia.

Dr C Beeby, occupation unknown.

Mr J Hemming, research officer in psychology.

Dr Minna Specht, occupation unknown.

Dr Kees Boeke, Holland. Head of Bilthoven Children's Community.

Prof. K Saiyidain, President of Indian Section, later of the International NEF.

Dr Edna White, Director of Merrill Palmer School, Detroit.

Dr E Malherbe, South Africa. Vice-Chancellor of Natal University.

Co-opted members

Mr D Jordan, Editor of ENEF Bulletin, lecturer at Goldsmith College.

Dr T Brameld, USA, Vice President of American section.

Mr T Gregersen, Denmark.

(Document 90, 1949 WEF Archives I:37)

APPENDIX 3

Thematic Analysis of The New Era, 1920-1950

New Education

1920's

1. Self-Government in Schools (1921, Apr.).
2. The Free Timetable (1922, Jan).
3. The New Schools and the Spirit of Service (1923, Oct)
* 4. The True Meaning of Freedom (1927, Oct.)
* 5. The Changing Curriculum (1929, Apr)
* 6. Changing Discipline in Home and School (1929, Jul)

1930's

* 7. The New Era in Home and School Relations (1930, Jul)
* 8. Project Work (1930, Sep)
9. Nursery Education (1930, Nov)
* 10. Co-Education (1931, May)
* 11. Social Reconstruction Through The Curriculum (1933, Apr)
* 12. Authority and Freedom (1935, Jan)
* 13 & 14. New Teaching in Elementary and Junior Schools (1955, Mar and Apr)
15. Creative Self-Expression (1936, Feb)
* 16. The Teacher-Child Relationship (1936, Apr)
* 17. Co-Education (1937, Apr)
18 & 19. Education For Democratic Citizenship (1937, May and Jun)
20. Nursery Education (1937, Jul/Aug)
21 & 22. The New Education (1937, Sep/Oct and Nov)
23. Authority and the New Education (1937, Dec)
24. Nursery Education (1938, Dec)

1940's

25. Age of Transference (1941, Sep/Oct)
* 26. Education and Human Relations (1948, Jun)
27. Activity Work (1948, Nov)
28. Consistency in Educational Experience (1949, Jun)
29. The Slow Child in the Primary School (1949, Dec)

New Psychology/Psychoanalysis

1920's

* 1 & 2. Sex Education in Home and School (1924, Jan/Apr)
* 3. The True Meaning of Freedom (1927, Oct)
* 4. Changing Discipline in Home and School (1929, Jul)
* 5. Individual Psychology and the Curriculum (1929, Jul)

1930's

* 6. The New Era in Home and School Relations (1930, Jul)
* 7. Co-Education (1931, May)
* 8. Authority and Freedom (1935, Jan)
* 9. The Teacher-Child Relationship (1936, Apr)
10. Guidance for the Difficult Child (1936, May)
11. Juvenile Delinquency (1936, Jun)
12. Personal Freedom (1936, Sep/Oct)
* 13. Sex Education (1937, Feb)
* 14. Co-Education (1937, Apr)
15 & 16. The Psychologist and the School (1938 Jul/Aug and Sep/Oct)

1940's

* 17. Effects of Separation on Parents and Children (1940, Mar)
18. The Problem Child (1941, May)
* 19. The Young Child in War-time (1942, Apr/May)
* 20. Residential Institutions and the Institutional Child (1943, Jul/Aug)
21. Mothers and Young Children (1945, Jan)
* 22. Fatherless Children (1945, Jul/Aug)
23. Relationships (1946, May)
24. Understanding Young Children (1947, Dec)
* 25. Education and Human Relations (1948, Jun)
* 26. Attitudes in School and College (1949, Sep)

<u>Teachers</u>

1920's

1. Re-creating the Teacher (1926, Jan)

1930's

* 2 & 3. The New Teaching in Elementary and Junior Schools (1935, Mar and Apr)
4. Teachers (1937, Jan)
5. Teachers (1937, Jan)

1940's

6. Teacher-Training Colleges (1940, Sep/Oct)
* 7. Emergency Recruitment and Training of Teachers (1945, Jun)
8. Aspects of Teacher-Training (1948, Jul/Aug)
9. The Growth of a Training College Community (1949, Mar)
* 10. Attitudes in School and College (1949, Sep)

The Curriculum

1920's

1. Art (1922, Jul)
* 2 & 3. Sex Education in Home and School (1924, Jan/Feb)
4. Examinations or ? (1925, Jan)
5. English (1928, Oct)
* 6. The Changing Curriculum (1929, Apr)
* 7. Individual Psychology and the Curriculum (1929, Oct)

1930's

8. History (1930, Apr)
* 9. Project Work (1930, Sep)
10. Drama (1931, Mar)
11. Geography (1931, Jul)
12. Mechanical Aids (1931, Aug)
13. Science (1932, Jan)
14. Craft (1932, Apr)
15. Languages (1933, Jan)
* 16. Social Reconstruction Through the Curriculum (1933, Apr)
17. Mathematics (1934, Jan)
18. Music (1934, May/Jun)
19. Classics (1935, Feb)
20. Craft (1936, Jan)
* 21. Sex Education (1937, Feb)
22. Religion (1937, Mar)
23. Children's Reading (1938, Feb)
24. Rural Education (1938, Apr)
25. Geography and Citizenship (1938, Nov)
26. Teaching Aids (1939, Mar)
27. General Science (1939, Jun)

1940's

1. USA (1926, Jul)
2. Scotland (1926, Oct)
3. Everywhere Schools are Different (1927, Apr)
4. South Africa (1927, Jul)
5. Russia (1928, Jan)
6 & 7. England (1928, Apr and Jul)
8. Denmark (1929, Jan)

1930's

9. Poland (1930, Apr)
10. Education in the Changing Commonwealth (1931, Sep)
11. France (1932, Jul)
12. Australia (1938, Mar)
13. India (1938, May)
14. New Zealand (1938, Jan)

1940's

15. Poland/France/Czechoslovakia (1944, Feb/Mar)
16. USA (1944, Jan)

17. France (1945, Oct)
* 18. International Education and Culture (1945, Nov)
19. Holland (1946, Apr)
20. UNESCO Conference (1947, Jan)
21. Belgian Education (1947, Mar)
22. Education in the Ukraine (1947, May)

The Second World War

1930's

1. Evacuation (1939, Feb)
2. Educational Experiments in Schools (1939, Jul/Aug)
3. Evacuation (1939, Sep/Oct)
4. Evacuation: Problems and Opportunities (1939, Nov)
5. Our Part in a World at War (1939, Nov)

1940's

* 6. Effects of Separation on Parents and Children (1940, Mar)
7. The Values on Which Civilization Rests (1940, May)
8. War News and the Schools (1940, Nov)
9. The Young Child in War-Time (1942, Apr/May)
* 10. Emergency Recruitment and Training of Teachers (1945, Feb)
11. Education in War-Time Britain (1945, Jun)
* 12. Fatherless Children (1945, Jul/Aug)
13. Education for Peace (1947, Jun)
14. Modern Education and the War-Damaged Child (1948, Sep)

* This theme has been classified under more than one category.

APPENDIX 4

Table to Show Distribution of International Notes

EUROPE

	1920's	1930's	1940's	TOTAL
Great Britain	23	162	41	226
France	6	19	7	32
Spain	3	1	-	4
Italy	4	5	1	10
Switzerland	9	12	6	27
Austria	3	6	2	11
Germany	4	13	1	18
Holland	6	12	2	20
Belgium	4	6	3	13

EASTERN EUROPE

Poland	1	5	1	7
Czechoslovakia	1	3	1	5
Hungary	2	2	2	6
Yugoslavia	1	2	-	3
Romania	1	1	2	4
USSR	2	3	1	6

THE FAR EAST

China	1	2	1	3
Japan	-	3	-	3

	1920's	1930's	1940's	TOTAL
THE COMMONWEALTH				
India	6	26	1	33
Australia	4	23	8	35
New Zealand	4	7	4	15
South Africa	2	10	5	17
THE AMERICAS				
Canada	3	12	2	17
USA	14	28	16	58
Mexico	-	3	-	3
Paraguay	-	3	-	3
Uruguay	-	1	-	1
Argentine	2	3	-	5
SCANDINAVIA				
Denmark	4	3	1	8
Norway	1	3	-	4
Sweden	1	2	-	3
Finland	-	2	1	3

APENDIX 5

Table to show Content Analysis of Book Reviews in The New Era

	1920's	1930's	1940's
PERSPECTIVES			
New Education	30	29	30
New Psychology	29	76	14
Psychoanalysis	31	26	19
REligion	3	9	9
Philosophy	8	13	20
TOTAL	101	153	92
%	40	32	25
APPLICATIONS			
Nursery	5	8	4
Primary	3	11	3
Secondary	0	4	4
School Organization	14	32	18
Home/School	2	2	0
Curriculum	33	76	62
World Education	17	56	32
Citizenship	7	18	6
Authority/Delinquency	6	3	10
Parents	2	6	0
Parent/Child	0	6	1
Problem Child	0	1	0
Teacher	9	12	4
Physical Welfare	9	9	16
War	0	3	14
Unemployment	0	4	1
TOTAL	107	251	175
%	43	52	48
SCHOOL TEXTS			
1			
TOTAL	42	80	100
%	17	16	27
GRAND TOTAL			
	250	484	367
Number of books reviewed per issue	6	4	3

APPENDIX 6

The Classification of Private Progressive School Advertisements in The New Era

The 1920's

1. Pedagogic Methods

FRENSHAM HEIGHTS

ROWLEDGE, near Farnham, SURREY.

Principals: Mrs. Beatrice Ensor and Miss I. B. King.

Co-educational Boarding School for Boys and Girls practising the New Ideals in Education.

Special attention given to Music, Arts and Crafts, and to the development of the child's creative powers.

The School is situated in the most lovely part of Surrey on a hill 360 feet above sea level.

Pupils prepared for Matriculation and Entrance Examinations to the Universities. Highly qualified staff.

Montessori department for the younger children.

Special arrangements can be made for holidays. *Prospectus from the Principals.*

The Theosophical Educational Trust

(in Great Britain and Ireland), Limited.

St. Christopher School, Letchworth

is a Co-Educational Public Day School.

Principal: H. LYN HARRIS, M.A., LL.B. (Camb.).

Fees: £6 6s. to £10 10s. per term.

Special Features. The school is a miniature community of which the children are citizens. In addition to a thoroughly sound education, based on the most modern methods, in the usual subjects up to Matriculation standard, with more advanced courses for those proceeding to the Universities, the following special advantages are offered: Free development and character building upon individual lines: Unsectarian Religious teaching, inculcating tolerance and sympathy in religious matters: Open-air work: Arts and Crafts study: Weaving, Printing, Woodcraft, Dalcroze Eurhythmics, etc. School journeys are sometimes arranged during the holidays.

Arundale House and Little Arundale

(Its Junior Branch) are Boarding Houses for St. Christopher School.

House Master and Mistress { H. LYN HARRIS, M.A., LL.B. / MRS. H. LYN HARRIS, Girton College, Camb.

Fees (including education at St. Christopher School): £135 to £150 per annum.

VEGETARIAN DIET. LARGE GARDEN AND PLAYING FIELDS.

The children attend St. Christopher School and spend their spare time at the houses in pursuit of ordinary home occupations. The aim is to help the children to develop their own initiative, and at the same time to learn to play their part in the life of the community.

2. Creative Education

3. Physical Environment

4. Academic Credentials

5. Specialist Schools for Maladjusted/Backward Children

The 1930's

1. Pedagogic Methods

2. Creative Education

1930's

DUNCAN HOUSE SCHOOL
CLIFTON DOWN, BRISTOL

Established 1884 Felixstowe incorp. 1930

Principal : MISS E. C. WILSON

Thorough modern education. Synthetic curriculum. Dalton method. Notable work in drama, crafts and eurhythmics. Domestic science department. Vocational lectures and tests.

Prospectus on application to the Secretary

MOIRA HOUSE, EASTBOURNE

Recognized by the Board of Education

Senior School, 11 to 18. Junior School, 7 to 11

A Boarding School for girls, standing on a slope of the Downs. Training in clear thought, practical action and artistic perception is provided for by a carefully balanced curriculum which includes all the usual subjects, as well as Speech-Work, Choral Verse Speaking, Dalcroze Eurhythmics, Handicrafts and Domestic Science.

Principal : MISS GERTRUDE A. INGHAM

Vice-Principals: MISS MONA SWANN
MISS EDITH TIZZARD, B.A., Hons. Lond.

CUDHAM HALL SCHOOL

Ne. Sevenoaks Kent

Boarding and Day School for Boys and Girls (ages 2-10)

A home school in delightful country surroundings where careful attention is given to health and diet. The education is on progressive lines which make the pursuit of knowledge a veritable adventure.

Principal - - MISS M. K. WILSON

DARTINGTON HALL

TOTNES *DEVON*

Headmaster : W. B. CURRY, M.A., B.Sc.

A co-educational boarding school for boys and girls from 2-18 in the centre of a 2,000 acre estate engaged in the scientific development of rural industries. The school gives to Arts and Crafts, Dance, Drama and Music the special attention customary in progressive schools, and combines a modern outlook which is non-sectarian and international with a free and informal atmosphere. It aims to establish the high intellectual and academic standards of the best traditional schools, and its staff therefore includes a proportion of highly qualified scholars actively engaged in research as well as in teaching. With the help of a small endowment fund it is planning and erecting up-to-date buildings and equipment.

Fees. £120 - £160 per annum.

A limited number of scholarships are available, and further information about these may be obtained from the Headmaster.

3. Physical Environment

RED HATCH, ANDOVER RD., WINCHESTER. A Home School in country surroundings, children 3-12 years. Special attention is given to health and diet. Entire charge, temporary or short periods. Trained staff. For particulars apply Principal.

SEVENOAKS OPEN AIR SCHOOL
For Children from 3-12 years

Education on modern lines. All work and play in open air. A few boarders taken in Principal's house in school grounds.

Full particulars from the Principal,
Constance M.A. KELLY, N.F.U. (Higher Cert.)

FOREST SCHOOL, REEPHAM, NORFOLK. Co-educational, Boarding, 5-18, Open-air life. 40 acres. Family background : progressive, individual methods ; practical preparation for life, including examinations. Riding. Crafts. Headmaster. Cuthbert Rutter, M.A. interviews London.

PINEHURST, Goudhurst. On the beautiful Kentish Weald. Progressive School. Co-educational 3-12 years. Sound education. Crafts. Riding. Food Reform Diet. Sun and Air Bathing. Excellent health record. Miss M. B. Reid, Principal.

4. Academic Credentials 1930's

The 1940's

1. Pedagogic Methods

2. Creative Methods

3. Physical Environment

1940's

MOORLAND SCHOOL
CLITHEROE, LANCS.
Co-educational 3–12 years. Tel. Clitheroe 3.
The children lead vital, constructive lives, doing work of high standard in a happy natural atmosphere. Food reform and meat diets. Nature cure methods. Out-of-door activities.
Co-principals: Miss D. E. King, L.L.A., and Miss A. E. Crane.

ST. CATHERINE'S SCHOOL,
Knole Park, Almondsbury, near Bristol.
Co-Educational Boarding. All Ages.
400 feet up, looking on to Channel and Welsh Mountains.
Food Reform Diet.
Open-air Swimming Pool. Music. Art.
40 guineas per term.
Ralph Cooper, M.A., and Joyce Cooper.

PINEWOOD,
AMWELLBURY, HERTS.
Home school for boys and girls 4 to 14, where diet, environment, psychology and teaching methods maintain health and happiness.
Elizabeth Strachan. *Were 52*

4. Academic Standards

BURGESS HILL SCHOOL
REDHURST, CRANLEIGH, SURREY
Boys and girls 5 to 14
High standard in academic subjects, arts and music.
Eggs, honey, fruit, vegetables.
ANTHONY WEAVER, B.A.
KENNETH ALLOTT, B.A., B.Litt., D.Th.P.T.

BADMINTON SCHOOL
(BRISTOL)
at Lynmouth, N. Devon.
Junior School 5 to 11 years
Senior School 12 to 19 years
The School is situated in beautiful and peaceful surroundings where the girls are able to enjoy an open-air life. A high standard of scholarship is maintained and at the same time an interest in creative work is developed by the practical and theoretical study of Art and Music. There are weekly discussions on World Affairs and more intensive work on Social and International problems is done by means of voluntary Study Circles.
Apply to The Secretary.

HURTWOOD SCHOOL
Peaslake Nr. Guildford
Co-educational from 3 years.
Modern building equipped for children in beautiful and healthy surroundings. The school aims at a high standard of scholarship in addition to health and happiness.
It wishes to attain a constructively progressive outlook without reaction, and believes that this can be done where tolerance is based upon sound knowledge and understanding.
Full particulars from the Principal:
JANET LEWSON, M.A., N.F.U.

THE BELTANE SCHOOL
Shaw Hill, Melksham, Wilts. Boys and girls from five to eighteen.
Good academic standards.

APPENDIX 7 (Chapter 6)

Raw Data Tables of Perspectives and Applications of New Education, Derived from the Content Analysis of The New Era for the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's

Table 1 : Raw Data Table of Perspectives and their Applications, 1920's

		Perspectives →								
		New Education	New Psychology	Psycho-analysis	Religion	Philosophy	New Ed.+ New Ψ	New Ed. + Psychoanal.	New Ψ + Psychoanal.	Total
	Single Perspectives (without application)	21	2	11	1	11	22	8	3	79
A	Nursery	1					2			3
P	Primary	5					4			9
P	Secondary									
L	School Organization	5				1	5			11
I	Home/School									
C	Curriculum	36	3	1	7	4	15	9		75
A	World Education	25			1	4	4			34
T	Self-Government/									
I	Citizenship	7	1							8
O	Authority/									
N	Delinquency	5	6	7			1	1		20
S	Parents									
↓	Parent/Child		1				1			2
	Problem Child	1	2	8			2	1		14
	Teacher	8		1		1	3		1	14
	Physical Welfare	5		1			3			9
	Total	119	15	29	9	21	62	19	4	278

Table 2: Raw Data Table of Applications, 1920's

Dominant Applications ---------->

Susidiary Applications ↓

	Nursery	Primary	Secondary	School Organization	Home/School	Curriculum	World Education	Citizenship	Authority/ Delinquency	Parent	Parent/Child	Problem Child	Teacher	Physical Welfare	TOTAL
Single Applications (without subsidiary)	3	4		20		30	30	11	5				3	2	108
Nursery							3								3
Primary						14	1	1							16
Secondary						15	5	6							26
School Organization		4	10				18								32
Home/School							1								1
Curriculum				1			11								12
World Education								2					2		4
Self-Government/ Citizenship															
Authority/ Delinquency						1					1				2
Parents						1									1
Parent/Child															
Problem Child															
Teacher															
Physical Welfare													1		1
Total	3	8	10	21		61	69	20	5		1		6	2	206

Table 3: Raw Data Table of Perspectives and their Applications, 1930's (Adjusted Totals)

		Perspectives →								
		New Education	New Psychology	Psycho-analysis	Religion	Philosophy	New Ed.+ New Ψ	New Ed. + Psychoanal.	New Ψ + Psychoanal.	Total
	Single Perspectives (without application)	12	17	6	7	5	8	2		57
A	Nursery	3	4				1			8
P	Primary	2	1							3
P	Secondary	5	1				1			7
L	School Organization	2								2
I	Home/School	3	3	1			1	1		9
C	Curriculum	23	4		1	1	1			30
A	World Education	22	5		2	1			1	31
T	Self-Government/									
I	Citizenship	4	1			1	1			7
O	Authority/									
N	Delinquency	3	4	2	1	3			2	15
S	Parents	1	1	1						3
↓	Parent/Child		18	7			1			26
	Problem Child	1	3	8			2	1		15
	Teacher	3	1	1			1			6
	Physical Welfare	1				1				2
	War	7	1				1	1		10
	Unemployment	1	1							2
	Total	939	65	26	11	12	18		3	233

Table 4: Raw Data Table of Applications, 1930's (Adjusted Totals)

		Dominant Applications: Nursery	Primary	Secondary	School Organization	Home/School	Curriculum	World Education	Citizenship	Authority/ Delinquency	Parents	Parent/ Child	Problem Child	Teacher	Physical Welfare	War	Un-employment	Total
	Single Applications (without subsidiary)	4	2	2	10	1	49	26	1	1			1	2	3		2	104
Subsidiary Applications	Nursery				1		1	2						2				6
	Primary	1		1	2		26	4		1								35
	Secondary				2		42	5	2					2				53
	School Organization	2				1		3										6
	Home/School		1					3										4
	Curriculum				4			27										31
	World Education												1	1				2
	Self-Government/ Citizenship						5	10										15
	Authority/ Delinquency							1	1									2
	Parents						1											1
	Parent/Child							2										2
	Problem Child						1	1										2
	Teacher						3	4		1								8
	Physical Welfare						1	1						1				3
	War																	
	Unemployment																	
	Total	7	3	3	19	2	129	89	4	3			2	8	3		2	274

Table 5: Raw Data Table of Perspectives and their Applications, 1940's

		Perspectives →								
		New Education	New Psychology	Psycho-analysis	Religion	Philosophy	New Ed.+ New	New Ed. + Psychoanal.	New + Psychoanal.	Total
	Single Perspectives (without application)	17	8	25	3	7	10			70
A	Nursery	2					2			4
P	Primary	2					1			3
P	Secondary	4					1			5
L	School Organization	5					2			7
I	Home/School		1				1			2
C	Curriculum	9			1	4	4			18
A	World Education	35	1		1	4	6			47
T	Self-Government/ Citizenship	9				2				11
I	Authority/ Delinquency	2		4						6
O	Parents			2			2			
N	Parent/Child	2	1	6						9
S	Problem Child	3	1	10		1	1			16
↓	Teacher	16	1		2					19
	Physical Welfare	4								4
	War	21		15	1					37
	Total	131	13	62	8	18	28			260

Table 6 Raw Data Table of Applications, 1940's

Dominant Applications ---------->

Susidiary Applications ↓

	Nursery	Primary	Secondary	School Organization	Home/School	Curriculum	World Education	Citizenship	Authority/ Delinquency	Parents	Parent/Child	Problem Child	Teacher	Physical Welfare	War	Total
Single Applications (without subsidiary)	3		1	3	2	39	45	7	1		1		13	3	2	120
Nursery						1	2								2	5
Primary						6	2	1							2	11
Secondary				2		12	1						1			16
School Organization							11								7	18
Home/School																
Curriculum							10						1		3	14
World Education													4		9	13
Self-Government/ Citizenship						1									2	3
Authority/ Delinquency							2									2
Parents					1		1									2
Parent/Child																
Problem Child						3	2							1		6
Teacher				1											4	5
Physical Welfare																
War								1							1	1
Total	3		1	6	3	62	76	9	1		1		19	4	31	216

APPENDIX 8 (Chapter 8)

Content Analyses of The Journal of Education and The Forum/British Journal of Educational Psychology

TABLE 1 A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

	1920	1925	1920's Total	%	1930	1935	1930's Total	%	1939	1945	1940's Total	%	Overall Rank Position
New Education	2	3	5	6	4	0	4	3	3	3	6	4	6
Curriculum	14	16	30	35	42	30	72	54	36	24	60	36	1
World Education	0	6	6	7	1	0	1	1	7	2	9	6	6
General Education Issues	7	4	11	13	4	15	19	14	9	5	14	9	2
Further & Higher Education	5	13	18	21	3	16	19	14	1	5	6	4	3
Teacher	2	6	8	9	3	5	8	6	12	6	18	11	4
Educational Administration	3	2	5	6	1	3	4	3	10	11	21	13	5
School Organization	2	0	2	2	3	3	6	5	0	0	0		9
Physical Welfare	1	0	1	1	0	0	0		1	2	3	2	10
War									19	6	25	15	8
TOTAL	36	50	86		61	72	133		98	64	162		

TABLE 2 1920's THE FORUM - A CONTENT ANALYSIS

		PERSPECTIVES					APPLICATIONS									
		Scientific Psychology	New Psychology	New Education	Psychoanalysis	Philosophy	I.Q.	General Educ. Issues	Educ. Administ.	Curriculum	World Education	Problem Child	Teacher	Physical Welfare	Total	%
A	SP / SA	13	1	11		2	13	12	3	25	9	2	7		98	67
P	I.Q.	11													11	7
P	General Ed. Issues	4		1											5	
L	Educational Administration			1											1	
I	Curriculum	11	2	1		1	1				1		4		21	14
C	World Education			3									1		4	
A	Problem Child						1								1	
T	Teacher	1	1	2											4	
I	Physical Welfare	1					1								2	
O	Total	41	4	19		3	16	12	3	25	10	2	12		147	
N	%	28		13			11	8		17	7		8			
S																

TOTALS		%
P_s	67	46
SP_s	27	40
PA_s	40	60
A_s	80	54
SA_s	71	89
AA_s	9	11

TABLE 3 1940's BRITISH JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY - A CONTENT ANALYSIS

		PERSPECTIVES					APPLICATIONS										
		Scientific Psychology	New Psychology	New Education	Psychoanalysis	Philosophy	I.Q.	General Educ. Issues	Educ. Administ.	Curriculum	World Education	Problem Child	Teacher	Physical Welfare	War	Total	%
A	SP / SA	18	9	8	3		16	5		13	1		7		6	86	57
P	I.Q.	19														20	13
P	General Ed. Issues	10	1				2								2	15	10
L	Educational Administration						3									3	
I	Curriculum	4					3									7	5
C	World Education																
A	Problem Child	4	3		2		2	1							3	15	10
T	Teacher		1				2									3	
I	Physical Welfare																
O	The War		3													3	
N	Total	55	17	8	5		28	6		13	1		8		11	152	
S	%	37	11	5			18	4		9			5		7		

TOTALS		%
P_s	85	56
SP_s	38	45
PA_s	47	55
A_s	67	44
SA_s	48	72
AA_s	19	18

TABLE 4 1930's BRITISH JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY - A CONTENT ANALYSIS

APPLICATIONS	PERSPECTIVES: Scientific Psychology	New Psychology	New Education	Psychoanalysis	Philosophy	APPLICATIONS: I.Q.	General Educ. Issues	Educ. Administ.	Curriculum	World Education	Problem Child	Teacher	Physical Welfare	The War	Total	%
SP / SA	16	7	5		4	21	9	1	14		1	9			87	55
I.Q.	35											1			36	23
General Ed. Issues	1														1	
Educational Administration		1				1									2	
Curriculum	6		1			1					1				9	6
World Education		1									1	1			3	
Problem Child	3	1		3		1		1							9	6
Teacher	5	2									1				8	5
Physical Welfare	1														1	
The War		3													3	
Total	67	12	6	3	4	24	9	1	15		4	11			156	
%	42	7	4			15	6		10			7				

TOTALS		%
P_s	92	59
SP_s	32	35
PA_s	60	65
A_s	64	41
SA_s	55	86
AA_s	9	14

APPENDIX 9 (Chapter 9)

Typology of Theories of the Origins and Identity of the New Middle Class

3.3 A Typology of Theories of the Origins and Identity of the New Middle Class (NMC)

Author	Perspective	Model of Class	Origins of NMC	Contents of NMC	Objective of Analysis
Giddens (1973)	Neo Marxist Neo-Weberian synthesis Structuration	3 class model corresponding to market capacity Upper class ownership of property. Middle class possession of educational technical qualifications. working class - ownership of labour power uses NMC only to distinguish between it and OLC - the petty bourgeoisie.	Monopoly stage of capitalism A massive expansion of white-collar jobs since the turn of the century	Propertyless, non-manual, white collar workers including professional and technical staff, clerical and sales assistants. Preferred concept Old middle class/middle class.	Theory of class structuration and differentiation. He identifies an independent middle class as aware of its position. Rejects proletarianisation thesis of some marxist accounts. Theory of class structuration.
Parkin (1979)	Weberian Develops Weber's notion of special closure	Takes distinction between bourgeoisie and proletariat as an expression of conflict between classes defined in terms of their prevalent modes of closure, exclusion and usurpation. Parkin holds a three class model. The bourgeoisie maintains its position through property ownership and credentialism.	No specific reference to NMC only to middle class. Following Weber it is likely that he identified the middle class with the monopoly stage of capitalism.	The middle class includes only lower level professionals and intermediate white collar groups. N.B. managers and professionals belong to the bourgeoisie as the former exercises exclusionary rights in property and the latter operate through credentialism. Preferred concept middle class.	To extend Marx's concept of property to include cultural capital. To oppose marxist notions of the proletarianisation of the middle class to counter-balance the structuralism of marxist approaches to class. Theory of social closure.

3.3 A Typology of Theories of the Origins and Identity of the New Middle Class (NMC) (Cont.)

Author	Perspective	Model of Class	Origins of NMC	Contents of NMC	Objective of Analysis
Wright (1978) (USA)	Neo-Marxist deriving from Althusser and Poulantzas. He includes political and ideological criteria of class location. Cleavage	Bourgeoisie; small employers; Managers & supervisors; Petty Bourgeoisie; Semi-autonomous Proletariat wage earners; Classes Contradictory locations.	Monopoly stage of capitalism. Acknowledges NMC only with reference to to concrete analyses of capitalist social formation.	Middle managers and technocrats with one feet in the bourgeoisie and the other in the proletariat. Essentially following Poulantzas, the NMC is the new petty bourgeoisie consisting of white collar employees, technicians supervisors. Preferred concept (new) Petty bourgeoisie.	Extension of Poulantzas as to incorporate contradictory class locations it. objective contradictory locations within basic contradictory relations between classes. Focuses upon class clearage and boundary maintenance. Theory of class clearage.
Gould (1981)	Neo-Marxist opposed dual model of class conflict, including Wright. Commonality	Explicit recognition of 'salaried middle class' as an independent class. 3 class model of Bourgeoisie SMC and proletariat is implied but not specified. His analysis focused exclusively upon the SMC.	Origins of welfare state and development of corporatism in which balance of power shifts from capital to the SMC in the division between ownership and control.	Non-manual career hierarchies associated with private and public bureaucracies the same was benefited as producers and consumers of welfare. Preferred concept Salaries Middle class.	Critical and marxist accounts which assimilate the middle class into the bourgeoisie and proletariat. Attributes a degree of independence to SMC. Its interests are advanced with limited class organization, visibility and consciousness and has assumed a high degree of power without any class being conscious of it. Theory of class commonality.